REPORT RESUMES

ED 010 318 24
THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY, A BOOK OF READINGS FOR INDUCTIVE TEACHING.
CARNEGIE INST. OF TECHNOLOGY, PITTSBURGH, PA.
REPORT NUMBER CRP-HS-041-C PUB DATE 65
PITTSBURGH PUBLIC SCHOOLS, PA.
REPORT NUMBER BR-5-0655-C
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.81 HC-$22.08 552P.

DESCRIPTORS- *COURSE ORGANIZATION, *ABLE STUDENTS, *SOCIAL STUDIES UNITS, *GRADE 10, *HISTORY INSTRUCTION, HISTORY TEXTBOOKS, CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, SECONDARY EDUCATION, EUROPEAN HISTORY, HISTORICAL REVIEWS, READING MATERIALS, TEACHING TECHNIQUES, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

THIS COURSE WAS DEVELOPED AS PART OF AN INTEGRATED AND SEQUENTIAL HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM FOR ABLE STUDENTS (UPPER 25 PERCENT). A BOOK OF READINGS FOR INDUCTIVE TEACHING. THE COURSE, BASED ON INDUCTIVE TEACHING, CONSISTS OF 17 UNITS OF STUDY WHICH INCLUDE--(1) THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY FROM INNOVATION TO TRADITION (500 BC TO 1300 AD), (2) THE SHAPING OF SOCIETY FROM TRADITION TO INNOVATION (1300 AD TO 1800 AD), AND (3) PROBLEMS OF MODERN SOCIETY (1800 TO PRESENT). EACH UNIT TAKES UP ONE SOCIETY OR ONE PROBLEM IN THE WESTERN TRADITION. THE FIRST THREE READINGS OF EACH UNIT CONSIST OF SOURCE MATERIALS FROM WHICH STUDENTS WERE ASKED TO MAKE AN INTERPRETATION AND TO WRITE A SUMMARY ESSAY. THE DOCUMENT IS A REVISION OF THE ORIGINAL COURSE TAUGHT EXPERIMENTALLY. A TEACHER'S MANUAL IS INCLUDED. (RS)

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(HS-041)

The
SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

Student Readings & Teacher's Manual

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THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY,

A BOOK OF READINGS FOR INDUCTIVE TEACHING

Prepared by the
Curriculum Development Center
Project Social Studies
Carnegie Institute of Technology
and
The Pittsburgh Public Schools

The curriculum materials in this volume were developed in a Center supported through the Cooperative Research Program of the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

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UNIT VI: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND 89

Reading XXIII - A Milestone in Constitutional Government 90
Reading XXIV - The Development of Parliament Under Edward I 90
Reading XXV - Seventeenth Century Constitutional Developments 93
Reading XXVI - The Growth of Parliament 97

UNIT VII: THE ANATOMY OF ABSOLUTISM 105

Reading XXVII - An Absolute Monarch in Action 106
Reading XXVIII - Mercantilism: The Economic Side of French Absolutism 111
Reading XXIX - Divine Right in Theory and Practice 115
Reading XXX - Louis XIV: The Anatomy of Absolutism 121

UNIT VIII: THE BIRTH OF SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT 127

Reading XXXI - Medieval Science 128
Reading XXXII - The World of the Seventeenth Century Scientists 130a
Reading XXXIII - The Nature and Significance of the Scientific Revolution 133
Reading XXXIV - The Scientific Revolution of the Seventeenth Century 135

UNIT IX: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARKET ECONOMY 142

Reading XXXV - The Emergence of the Market 143
Reading XXXVI - The Development of the Market - A Case Study 145
Reading XXXVII - Adam Smith: The Philosophy of the Market Economy 146
Reading XXXVIII - The Development of the Market Economy 151

UNIT X: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY REVOLUTIONS 158

Reading XXXIX - The Revolution in Men's Minds 159
Reading XL - Criticisms of the Old Regime 163
Reading XLI - Leadership in the French Revolution 168
Reading XLII - The French Revolution and the Western Tradition 174

UNIT XI: ECONOMIC GROWTH IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BRITAIN 179

Readings XLIII - XLVI - Directions for a Research Paper 180

SECTION III

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY - 1800 to the PRESENT
THE PROBLEMS OF MODERN SOCIETY 223

UNIT XII: NATIONALISM 224

Reading XLVII - Nationalism in Tudor England 225
Reading XLVIII - Nineteenth Century Nationalism in Italy 230
Reading XLIX - Nineteenth Century Nationalism in Germany 235
Reading L - The Meaning of Nationalism 238

UNIT XIII: THE FIRST WORLD WAR: A PROBLEM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 244

Reading LI - The Nature of Modern Warfare 245
Reading LII - The Decisions That Led to War 247
Reading LIII - Treaty of Versailles: To Maintain the Peace 256
Reading LIV - Balance of Power and Collective Security: International Relations Since 1815 262

UNIT XIV: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOTALITARIANISM IN RUSSIA 268

Reading LV - The Roots of Totalitarianism--Imperial Russia 269
Reading LVI - The Roots of Totalitarianism--Communist Ideology 275
Reading LVII - The World of the Soviet Citizen 278
Reading LVIII - Totalitarianism in the Soviet Union 280

UNIT XV: ADOLF HITLER AND THE NAZI REICH 286

Reading LIX - The German People and the Nazis 287
Reading LX - Nazism in Theory 296
Reading LXI - Nazism in Practice 298
Reading LXII - Fascism: Denial or Fulfillment of Western Traditions? 302

UNIT XVI: THE DEVELOPMENT OF EQUALITY IN THE WEST 308

Reading LXIII - The Idea of Equality in the West 309
Reading LXIV - Nineteenth Century Challenges to the Idea of Equality 313
Reading LXV - The Development of Equality in Great Britain 318
Reading LXVI - Equality in Western Tradition 322

UNIT XVII: THE DIFFUSION OF THE WEST 328

Reading LXVII - The Diffusion of the West in the Nineteenth Century 329
Reading LXVIII - The Values of Non-Western Leaders in the Twentieth Century 330
Reading LXIX - A Turkish Village: A Case Study in Diffusion 333
Reading LXX - The Diffusion of the West 334

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

A Note to the Public Domain Edition

The Shaping of Western Society is a one-semester course in the history of Western civilization developed at the Social Studies Curriculum Development Center at Carnegie Institute of Technology under a grant from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Intended for the first semester of tenth grade, it is the third semester course in an integrated and sequential four-year high school social studies curriculum for able students, the top quarter of a typical high school class. The course examines the causes and effects of major movements that have created the distinctive economic, political, social and ideological characteristics of western culture.

These materials and the teaching strategies explained in the accompanying Teacher's Manual were originally developed during the summer of 1964. After a trial in five Pittsburgh high schools in the fall of that year, they were extensively revised during the spring and summer of 1965 and tried again. Even though teachers and students found the revised version superior to the first draft, the second trial has revealed a number of shortcomings in the present version. Limited time and funds precludes another revision before placing the materials in the public domain. This note explains briefly what we believe to be the major faults of the material. Similar analyses accompany all of the courses we have released.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has decided to release materials developed under its auspices into the public domain. This policy in no sense indicates the endorsement of HEW. Officials in the Office of Education of HEW have examined our work only to determine whether or not the Social Studies Curriculum Development Center has met the terms of its contract. Permission to release these materials implies only performance; it does not imply either approval or disapproval by HEW of the subject emphases or teaching strategies developed.

Legally all the material developed in the Center under its contract now becomes public property. It may be reproduced in any form by anyone for any use, but it cannot be copyrighted. The reader of the public domain version of The Shaping of Western Society will notice, however, that a large number of articles which appeared in the student readings developed by the Center have not been included. These articles were originally published elsewhere and were adopted, sometimes in edited form, with permission of the author or publisher for use only in an experimental edition. The original copyright taken out by the authors or publishers of these selections remains in force. We cannot give permission to reproduce this material, nor can we reproduce it ourselves in the public domain version. In order to make the public domain version as useful as possible for teachers and curriculum experts, we have indicated briefly the content of each copyrighted selection and we have given full bibliographic references so that others may read the material in full.

The purpose of an experimental program is to discover the weaknesses of new instructional materials as well as their strengths. On the whole, the Social Studies Curriculum Development Center at Carnegie Institute of Technology has found The Shaping of Western Society to be superior to existing world history programs. Test results indicate that the students who have taken this course perform equally well on nationally standardized world history tests as a matched group of students who took a traditional world history course. At the same time, the students in the experimental program seem to have mastered the mode of inquiry skills which are an additional objective of the program. This report is not intended to dwell upon the successes of The Shaping of Western Society, however, but to summarize the deficiencies that the staff of the Social Studies Curriculum Development Center has found in the materials produced for this course. A similar brief analysis of the Teacher's Manual summarizes its weaknesses.

Since The Shaping of Western Society is a highly selective course treating only a few aspects of western history, we have omitted many topics which find their way into typical world history textbooks. In general, we have not found these omissions to be harmful to the students' overall understanding of the course of western history. One omission has, however, created great difficulties in explaining how the western world got to be the way it is. The course does not contain a separate unit on the Protestant Reformation, though the effects of the Reformation are discussed in several of the units. This omission has made it difficult for students to relate social, political and economic developments in Europe to the changes in values that accompanied the Protestant Reformation.

In some cases not enough of the historical background of important events has been included for a thorough understanding of the event in its context. One notable example is the reading on the causes of the First World War. In this reading, the students are asked to reconstruct the decisions of the major European powers in 1914 on the basis of very skimpy information of the aims and motives of the European leaders. Other readings in the course suffer from the same defect.

Though we tried to translate into simple language those documents which students find difficult to read, the course still contains several readings which even able tenth grade students cannot fully comprehend. The problem arises not so much from the vocabulary itself but from the archaic style in which many of the documents are written. Translations of several of the documents into modern language should overcome this weakness.

We have found that students have had difficulty relating the separate units to each other. For example, they have difficulty understanding that what historians call the Renaissance happened concurrently with the growth of nation-states and the development of scientific thought and of the market economy. Since the units on the Renaissance, the development of nation-states in England and France, the scientific revolution,and the development of the market economy follow each other, the students seem to think that these movements took place one after the other. The teachers of this course have tried to explain how these units relate to each other. Perhaps a series of chronological charts would help students to avoid misunderstandings arising from a poor sense of chronology.

We hope that this public domain version of our work proves fruitful to teachers everywhere. We will welcome comments derived from your experience with it. We hope that a number of teachers, writers and publishers will develop their own versions of this course for commercial sale. Only through commercial production can these materials make their way into classrooms across the nation.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE COURSE FOR PARENTS AND TEACHERS

Carl Becker, a famous American historian, once defined history as "the memory of society." Just as an individual is lost without the memory of his personal life, he argued, a society is lost without history. Without history, we would be unable to place ourselves in time and space or to see ourselves in the long perspective of the past. History links us with our ancestors and provides a way for our children to learn about us.

But, Becker argued, every man must be his own historian. He believed that the past did not speak for itself. The facts were there, or at least a part of them, printed on the pages of books or standing mutely as buildings or statues, but each person interpreted these facts for himself. How he interpreted them depended on a number of factors: the selection of facts available, the criteria he used to select facts, the problems he chose to investigate, and the rules of evidence he followed. Hence, to study history a man must know how to interpret the past. Some historians would even argue that history _is_ a method of studying the past.

This course is based on the assumption that every student should learn to interpret past events. Not that traditional factual information has been neglected. The pages that follow are filled with the names of some of the greatest men of the western world and with the deeds which made them famous. It also includes information about ordinary people, the nameless millions who have always made up the bulk of society. We have omitted information about some subjects studied in many world history courses in order to allow time to study a few topics in depth and to learn to interpret accurately.

The course investigates some of the most significant and dramatic events in the history of Western man. Americans are the heirs of traditions born thousands of years ago and developed in a variety of ways in different western nations. Today these western ideas and institutions have an enormous impact on the non-western world where they are tearing traditional societies asunder, just as traditional Europe was transformed by these same innovations. No one can understand contemporary India or China unless he knows about the western institutions and ideas which are helping to shape them.

This course invites each student to be his own historian. It begins with a study of the way in which historians interpret the past in order to introduce students to the principles of historical analysis. Every succeeding unit takes up one society or one problem in the western tradition. The first three readings of each unit consist of source materials of various kinds from which students are asked to make an interpretation. The summary essay which follows gives an opportunity to look at interpretations in a new light and to connect one unit with another.

The course has been written by teams of professors from Carnegie Institute of Technology and teachers from the Pittsburgh Public Schools. It is the first part of the second year of a four year sequence of courses in the social studies developed for able students under a grant from the United States Office of Education. The present text represents a revision of the original course taught experimentally last year. A full kit of new audio-visual aids and examinations accompanies the course. We will appreciate your criticisms and your suggestions for revision.

HOW TO STUDY IN THIS COURSE

You will probably find that this course is quite different from history courses you have taken in the past. In the first place, there will be no attempt to cover all of history, for that is an impossible task. Instead, you will focus your attention of seventeen important issues each of which includes the way in which one or more western traditions have developed. Hence, we will be less concerned with learning a maximum number of facts than we will with interpreting some important historical developments. We will omit some material that is usually included in tenth grade world history, such as a study of the major wars fought by mankind in the last 2,000 years. On the other hand, we will include some material that is not usually covered in high school history courses--a detailed study of the economy of the Middle Ages, for example.

Formal classes will meet only four days a week. On the fifth day students will come to their classroom where they will work on special projects designed to supplement the work of the course. On the whole, the course will be taught inductively. Students will be expected to come to their own conclusions from the material presented, and they will be required to fit material from successive lessons together. They will have frequent opportunities to study the techniques of historians through the readings, many of which have been specifically designed to emphasize method. This entire approach to learning is based upon well-founded psychological principles supported by abundant research data.

Students will be given a short examination each week as well as occasional quizzes to check reading. There will be one major research paper written during the semester. A book review based on a book selected by the student in an area of his interest will also be assigned. There may also be other short papers from time to time. Grades will be based on examinations, papers, class recitation and oral reports. Since only able students have been admitted to the course, we expect most of you to earn A or B on your report cards.

Although this course has been prepared with great care, it is new and it is experimental. We undoubtedly have made some errors. Some readings, for example, may be too difficult and occasionally a lesson may require more than one-half hour to prepare. We ask your cooperation to help us correct any mistakes we may have made. Let your teacher know what you think of the readings. Tell him how long you spend on your preparations each day and whether or not the audio-visual aids help you learn more.

This book is divided into seventeen chapters each of which deals with an historical issue that has puzzled historians. Each chapter is divided into three parts:

1. An opening page called "Stating the Issue" which explains the nature of the issue we will be studying. Read this statement carefully and write down on a piece of notepaper the major questions which you will be trying to answer during the four days we spend on the unit.

2. Three lessons containing readings from sources which provide the data for your interpretation. Read them carefully, taking notes around the study questions and on other issues which seem important to you.

3. An interpretive essay which places the entire subject into historical perspective. You should read this essay to note what is significant about the period we are studying and to check your interpretations of the evidence against a scholar's account.

The readings generally follow a common pattern. Each has an introduction to relate the reading to other parts of the chapter and other units of the course. The introduction will usually be followed by a series of study questions to help focus your attention on the most important issues to study. The rest of each reading contains the evidence you will use to make your interpretation. The interpretive essays do not have study questions.

You are expected to read each day's lesson and to take notes on the reading before you come to class. You ought to get a looseleaf notebook which can hold both your homework and your classroom notes.

Notetaking is a vital skill. We suggest that you read and take notes each evening in the following manner.

1. Write the lesson number and the title of the reading at the top of a piece of paper.

2. Read the Introduction carefully. Do not take running notes on the Introduction, but read to discover three things: 1. what the reading is about, 2. how it fits into the entire chapter, and 3. what kinds of evidence will be presented. After you have read the Introduction either jot down in brief form the answers to these three questions or keep them in your mind as you read.

3. Read the Questions: Make a mental note of what you should look for in the documents to follow.

4. Skim the first document in the reading. Write down the title of the document and the name of the author on your note paper. Read the first sentence in each paragraph. When you have finished, try to state in your own words what the evidence seems to indicate about the issue being discussed.

5. Read the document carefully and take running notes. Do not read first and then read again for notes. Do not underline or mark the text in any way. Write down in your notes all evidence which will help you answer the questions in the reading. Try to select only that evidence that bears upon the issue. If you take notes on everything you will only duplicate the reading itself. As you write down the evidence, put in parenthesis next to the note what conclusion the evidence seems to indicate about the questions asked of you. Repeat the process of skimming and taking notes for the remaining documents.

6. Go over your notes, underlining key ideas and words. This procedure is the best way to begin learning the information in the lesson.

7. Try to answer the study questions. When you have finished studying your notes, try to answer the study questions for yourself. Do not write out the answers to the questions. You would only be repeating the information in your notes if you do this. Use this step to see whether or not you got the important points from the documents in preparation for class discussion.

Two other study techniques will be useful. First, keep a vocabulary list in which you enter all new words and their definitions. This should include words from the readings and from class discussion. Second, keep your class notes and your reading notes together in your notebook so that you can review for tests without flipping through a mass of paper to find material which goes together.

Your teacher will help you if you have trouble with this notetaking technique and will criticize your notes in an individual conference if you request one. Do not hesitate to ask for help on this or any other problem which may beset you during the year. Remember that problems are most easily solved when you catch them early, not after you are in academic difficulty.

UNIT I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HISTORY

Stating the Issue

Today we begin a formal study of history. Our first task is to find out what history is. Is it merely as the dictionary says "a narrative of events" or "a systematic, written account of events, particularly of those affecting a nation, institution, science or art, usually connected with a philosophical explanation of their causes"? Is it instead only "one man's interpretation of the past," or as Voltaire said, "a pack of tricks we play on the dead"? Or is it primarily a way of thinking, a set of rules and procedures for making interpretations?

The first six assignments in this course have been designed to encourage each student to work out his own definition of history. Notice that we do not suggest that everyone should arrive at exactly the same understanding of this term. Historians disagree with each other about the nature of their discipline. Literally hundreds of volumes have been written to attempt to find a definition of history which everyone in the profession could accept. So far no author has reached this goal. When even experts disagree, students should not be expected to reach a consensus.

Nor should they be expected to understand the nature of history in one week's work. These six assignments merely introduce the topic and present opportunities to develop a first approximation of the nature of historical investigation. Throughout the course, students who use this book will have frequent opportunities to increase their knowledge about historical procedures and to apply historical techniques to a great variety of situations. Only by successfully applying the tools of analysis can anyone be certain that he has mastered them.

We will concentrate our study of the nature of history on a few key issues. What will a historian accept as fact? What determines how he categorizes facts into groups of related events? How does he develop and validate hypotheses? How can he deal with the problem of overcoming a mind set growing out of his entire life experience? These are the questions which we will try to answer in Unit I.

READING I

THE NATURE OF HISTORY

A historian who collects information from newspapers or other sources must arrange his data for his readers. His job is to decide the question he wishes to investigate and the arrangement of evidence used to prove the point he wishes to make. If he did not arrange evidence, he could only list facts helter-skelter in no pattern whatsoever. No one would waste his time reading such an account.

We shall begin our study of history by investigating the problem of the arrangement of data. In order to concentrate on this problem without becoming involved in a true historical subject, we have chosen data which would not usually be considered historical at all. In class, however, we will be able to examine the implications of our conclusions for the study of history.

Below you will find a list of eighteen words. You are to arrange these words in groups of things which seem to belong to each other for some reason. For example, if we had given you the words pine tree, tiger and iron ore you could classify them as animal, vegetable and mineral. You can probably think of a number of additional ways to classify these three terms. Make as many classifications of the eighteen terms below as you can think of in a half hour. Come to class prepared to discuss what you have done.

shark
turkey
rabbit
cat
grouse
rainbow trout
tuna
condor
ostrich
lion
black bass
elephant
pike
eagle
sheep
pheasant
collie dog
barracuda

READING II

EVIDENCE AND INFERENCE: PROVING A HYPOTHESIS

Historians never collect data helter-skelter. If they did, they would take notes about everything they read. No historian operates in this fashion. He selects the data he wants to record in his notes and then selects again from his notes those pieces of evidence (facts) that he will use to prove his point. Every step in the process of writing a book or an article involves selection.

How does a historian start to select? He usually starts with a question: What caused World War I? Why did the United States become more democratic in the 1830's? What was the most important contribution of the Romans to the western heritage? Then he begins to do research, reading and collecting notes about his topic. Before long he starts to develop a hypothesis, a tentative answer to the question. As he gathers more data, he revises his hypothesis; he may abandon it entirely if he finds enough evidence against it. In this case, he will be forced to develop another hypothesis to guide his research. Eventually he will conclude that the hypothesis he has developed really explains the facts of the case. He is then ready to write his conclusions.

This procedure sounds far more simple than it really is. Where does he get the idea for his hypothesis in the first place? How does he decide when a hypothesis has been proved? How should he arrange his evidence to support his explanation in such a way that readers will agree with him? These are all questions which we will try to answer during this course.

Today we will investigate the way in which two historians developed hypotheses and tried to prove or disprove them. The article you will read concerns the controversy about the Kensington Rune Stone, a slab marked with Runic inscriptions which was discovered in Minnesota in 1898. We will introduce further evidence about this stone in class. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How does the author begin this article? Do most historians start research in a similar way?
2. What was the original hypothesis about the authenticity of the stone? What evidence made scholars think it was a forgery?
3. What was the next hypothesis about the stone? What evidence prompted a new investigation? Why have many historians decided that the stone is an authentic relic?
4. Are you convinced that the stone is genuine?

THE RIDDLE OF THE KENSINGTON STONE*

* From Thomas R. Henry, "The Riddle of the Kensington Stone," in THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, Vol. 221, August 21, 1948, 25+.

This article chronicles the work of Hjalmar Holand to establish the validity of the Kensington Rune Stone. Holand met the objections of those who believed the Stone a fraud by extensive linguistic analysis, consulting the records of the Swedish kingdom, and by developing geological arguments.

READING III

HOW THE HISTORIAN DECIDES WHAT IS FACT

In Reading II we discovered that historians use facts to validate hypotheses. We also learned that scholars often disagree about what is fact and what is not. Some historians accept a statement as fact while others reject it because of differences in their frames of reference. We studied examples of this generalization in class yesterday.

Sometimes historians have only one source for a statement of fact. In most cases, however, they have two or more sources. Often the sources will disagree. Because each author has his own frame of reference from which he views an event, he will select some of the things he sees to describe and reject others. Another eye-witness might make an entirely different selection. Yet the historian must rely heavily on eye-witness accounts to obtain the evidence he needs to validate a hypothesis.

Today's reading gives you an opportunity to decide which facts can be accepted from two authors who disagree on many details. Suppose that civilization on earth had been destroyed by hydrogen war. You have just landed from Mars (we won't speculate about what you look like or how you got here). You know how to read both English and Russian because your midget computer makes instant translations into Martian. In a time capsule buried on the site of ancient New York (or Nyawk, as Theodore Bikel, playing the archeologist of the future, called it) you discover a yellowed magazine containing an account of a revolution in a place called Hungary. In another time capsule on the site of ancient Moscow you discover a fading script of a radio broadcast describing this same event. The two accounts are all the information you have. As a historian, Martian variety, it is your task to decide what the facts are. How would you go about doing so?

As you read these two articles (One actually is taken from TIME and the other is a verbatim account of a broadcast from Radio Moscow) think about the following questions:

1. Which of these accounts, if either, do you accept? Do you think each might be right in parts and wrong in other parts?
2. Do the two accounts agree about anything? If the two accounts do agree about something, are you willing to accept it as a fact? Why or why not?
3. What are some of the issues on which the accounts differ? How would you decide which, if either, is correct?

THE FIVE DAYS OF FREEDOM*

* From TIME, Vol. 68, November 12, 1956, 40+.

This account of the revolt in Hungary was based upon the tales of refugees, fleeing from Budapest. The TIME article tells of the actions of the Russians in response to student and worker uprisings in Hungary's capital city. The account talks of those who rebelled against the government as "freedom" fighters, bravely resisting the armed might of Soviet tanks.

REMARKS BROADCAST ON RADIO MOSCOW, NOVEMBER 10, 1956

E. M. Bazarina

(E. M. Bazarina is a Russian news commentator)

We arrived in Hungary on 19 October with other Soviet tourists. We spent four days touring this beautiful country and were everywhere given a most cordial and hearty welcome. On Tuesday, 23 October, on our way to a theatre we saw crowds of people in the streets of Budapest. They were lined up in ranks and carried placards, many of which bore the inscription "Long Live Hungary!" ... The students together with members of the intelligentsia and workers were demanding the redress of errors and omissions committed by the Hungarian Government. They were legitimate demands. ...

On that first evening I saw from the hotel in which we were staying a man with a rifle appear on the deserted street. He took up a position in one of the drives and, taking careful aim, began shooting out the street lamps. The lamps went out one by one and darkness enveloped the street. What prompted the marksman to do this? Just hooliganism? Hardly. I think he was one of the bright sparks of the reactionary underground who wanted to create confusion and chaos in the city. Quite soon afterwards there were flashes of gunfire and sounds of battle and we saw wrecked and burning buildings in the streets of Budapest, overturned tram-cars and other vehicles. Firing would die down and then flare up again. Hostile elements were aiming at paralysing the city's life but the workers of Budapest were repelling the rebels. Detachments of armed workers tried to restore order in the streets and prevent looting. In many places, including the area around our hotel, workers' patrols were posted. ...

One member of our hotel staff, a middle-aged man with grey hair, told us: "Our workers cannot have had a hand in this looting and rioting. It is fascism raising its head." And that is what it was. The counter-revolutionary underground was in action in Budapest. Fascist reactionary elements had arrived there from abroad. The hostile venture was gathering momentum and the Hungarian Government asked the USSR Government for aid. In response to this request Soviet military units stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty entered Budapest to help to restore order. The overwhelming majority of Hungarians welcomed this move in the hope that life in the city would quickly return to normal. I myself saw in one street how the people were welcoming the Soviet tanks.

One Hungarian, a member of the hotel staff, described the following incident to us. Firemen-volunteers, absolutely unarmed, were putting out a fire in one of the public buildings. Suddenly, from a small house opposite, shots were fired by fascist louts who opened fire on the unarmed firemen. Several of them fell. Our tank was stationed in the street. The tankmen immediately aimed their gun at the house where the bandits were entrenched. This was sufficient to make them run into a side street. Several firemen ran up to the tank and shook hands with the tankmen. This episode gives a good testimony of the attitude of the Hungarians towards the Soviet troops. However, reaction did not cease its activities. When we walked along some of the streets we saw that the walls of houses were thickly covered with counter-revolutionary posters. ...

When Soviet troops began withdrawing from Budapest an unbridled White Terror started in the Hungarian capital. We Soviet tourists recall this time with horror. It is difficult to describe the chaos which reigned in the city where public buildings were destroyed, shops looted, and where crowds of armed bandits, obviously fascists, walked along the streets committing bestial murders in broad daylight. I shall never forget what I saw with my own eyes. I think it was on 30 or 31 October. A man in a sports suit walked along the Lenin Boulevard. He might have been one of those who tried to restore order in the city. Several armed ruffians wearing counter-revolutionary tricolours ran up to him. A horrible inhuman cry was heard. A whole crowd of bandits appeared from somewhere. I was unable to see what they were doing with their victim, but in a few minutes he was hanging on a nearby tree with an eye gouged out and his face slashed with knives.

Some time ago I read how the fascists in Germany burnt progressive literature on bonfires. We saw similar things. ...A group of some hooligans looted and set fire to the House of Books. Thousands and thousands of books were smouldering in the muddy street. We were there, witnesses of this barbarity. The works of Chekhov, Shakespeare, Tolstoi, Pushkin, and other famous authors were lying in the mud, black smoke rising. We saw an old man who lifted a few books, then carefully wiped the mud with his sleeve, pressed them to his breast and walked slowly away. Many people did the same.

In the Hotel "Peace" the atmosphere in those days was extremely tense. The counter-revolutionaries tore the red star from the front of the hotel and trod it underfoot on the pavement. We were told that the Hotel "Peace" from now on would be called Hotel "Britannia." The person who told us about it looked around and added quietly: "It doesn't matter. It will only be temporary."

More than once we were witnesses of acts which manifested the friendly attitude of the Hungarians towards the Soviet people. This friendly attitude was felt by us Soviet people, when we were leaving Budapest. ... In small groups of two or three people we made our way along the devastated streets towards the Danube in order to board a Red Cross steamer. We were accompanied by a worker ... a young girl. She led us from one cross-road to another, fearlessly seeking the safest way. At the pier we heartily embraced her. She said: "Some one in the West wants us to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. Don't believe them, dear friends. We Hungarians are for socialism, and we are with you." When we were in Czechoslovakia on our way home, we learned that the counter-revolution in Hungary was routed and that life was becoming normal in the country. Now we are at home in Moscow. We shall not forget that Hungarian girl who said that the Hungarians were for socialism and that they were with us.

READING IV

HOW THE HISTORIAN ASKS QUESTIONS

The past three readings have concerned the way in which historians develop and validate hypotheses with factual evidence. But how does a historian develop a hypothesis in the first place? And how does he go about the complicated and time-consuming process of searching for facts to support his hypotheses? How does he know, for example, that he has not overlooked some really vital possibility in a complex historical situation? If he has, the explanation he has tried to develop will certainly fall short of the truth.

Historians deal with very complicated developments involving millions of people and great spans of time. Hence they must be particularly careful to develop procedures which will help them to cover the large number of possibilities inherent in any historical situation. Most historians work through a set of questions which often help to reveal the information which has a bearing on an issue. Knowing which questions to ask becomes a vital matter. No simple check list can cover the enormous range of historical possibilities. Every historian must always be ready to ask new questions, ones that he has never asked before, if he expects his frame of reference to expand. Still, having a few questions which have proved fruitful in the past in mind when beginning an historical investigation often prevents a scholar from overlooking a vital point.

In Reading IV, Carl G. Gustavson, a contemporary historian, explains his procedure for discovering the causes of the Protestant Reformation. He is concerned with both the development of hypotheses and with ways of uncovering facts which bear on them. The cause of the Reformation, one of the most complicated of historical problems, requires particular attention to the rules of clear thinking in historical investigations. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What questions did Gustavson ask? Why these rather than some others? Do these questions give you a clue about what types of analytical questions are most fruitful in an historical inquiry?
2. Do you think that all historians would compile a list of questions very much like Gustavson's? Why or why not?
3. Will Gustavson's questions help him to develop an hypothesis about the cause of the Reformation? If he asked different questions, might he end up with a different hypothesis?

THE CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION *

* From Carl G. Gustavson, A PREFACE TO HISTORY (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1955), 56-64.

In this chapter on the methods of the historian, Gustavson indicates the kinds of questions historians should ask when they investigate the causes of an event. Among these questions are: what was the immediate cause, had there been agitation for the principles before the event, were personalities involved whose strength or weakness helped to determine the outcome, were there any other ideas stimulating the loyalty of a large number of people, how did economic and technological forces influence the outcome, were religious forces active, can the event be explained by weakened or strengthened institutions, was the physical environment a factor?

READING V

THE PROBLEM OF MIND SET

In Reading IV we studied the way in which a historian develops a hypothesis by asking analytical questions. Gustavson was trying to discover the cause of the Protestant Reformation. He assumed that a number of factors were at work; no major historical development is ever caused by only one event but by a combination of many. His questions were designed to reveal whether or not some of the more important causes of change in other situations were involved in this one. He conceded that all the questions which he listed might not be appropriate to every topic and that an alert historian would always have to watch for unique causes if he hoped to make an accurate interpretation.

Asking analytical questions seems to be a simple matter. It is not. Everyone is conditioned by his culture, by the knowledge, beliefs, customs and skills he acquires as a member of society. Two men from different cultures may perceive the same events quite differently. What may strike a man from one culture as particularly important may seem commonplace and not worth noting to someone from another society. A culture can give a person a "mind set," attitudes toward life which condition the interpretation he will develop.

The excerpt below illustrates this point. It was written about the year 1000 AD by a monk in the monastery of St. Benedict at Fleury in France. This story was part of a two-volume work on the miracles of St. Benedict for whom the monastery was named. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What really happened to Herbert? Was he struck by St. Benedict or did he have a heart attack? Why do you think so?
2. Why did Herbert and the Monk think that St. Benedict had intervened?
3. What factors account for the interpretation of history which we find in this excerpt?

A MIRACLE OF THE EARLIEST DAYS OF FEUDALISM*

The castle of Sully, which is three miles from Fleury, was in the possession of a certain Herbert. Our venerable abbot Richard had given this Herbert as a benefice some lands that were church property. But Herbert, being by no means content with these, by an act of scandalous boldness seized the remaining lands reserved there for the benefit of the monks. So the abbot and the members of the monastery go all together to him, asking him to take to heart the good faith he pledged to them by oath, and to cease occupying their possessions. Since he pays little attention to their pleas, they proceed to lay the mournful burden of their complaint before King Lothar and Duke Hugh, but make no progress in those quarters either. Then on their own they begin again with the man of bad faith, praying that he take pity on them and halt his oppression of them. Since he nonetheless averts his ears, they come back to his castle. All in all, for practically the whole period of Lent in that year, they poured forth their prayers of tribulation to God, amid solemn litanies, beating at the same time two pieces of brass, in order by the sound to invite the help of all who heard.

Meanwhile that man Herbert, continuing in his evil defiance and daily adding worse deeds to his bad behavior, on a certain night set out with some of his men into the district of the Gâtinais. And since, according to the

clothing bearing the marks of holy wounds, whose whole covering gleamed with an ethereal brightness - as he himself told his men afterwards. And then he let out a horrible cry, for he was hit between the shoulders by a staff which the figure seemed to have in hand; and then the vision disappeared before his eyes. The riders around him, struck by the horror of his cry, try solicitously to find out what has happened to him. "Saint Benedict," he tells them, "just now standing by me, struck me a powerful blow, from which I feel now severe pain. But you faithful fellow-soldiers, follow the path back and take me to my home, and from there hurry to the tomb of the glorious saint to demand urgent forgiveness for me." They followed his orders and took him back to where they had started. Almost on the threshold of his home, in the arms of his servants, he gave up his soul; his devoted vassals, going to the monks of St. Benedict, reported what had happened and asked that the dead body be received for burial. The monks, although fearful of the indignation of the abbot, who at the moment was by chance absent, agreed and buried the body. Although they in part were quietly pleased, yet with pious compassion they did pity the man who had died, for in the first flower of his youth he was now deprived of the gift of this life and also unable to make up for the wickedness of his ways.

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* Translated from the original Latin in Les Miracles de Saint Benoit, ed. E. de Certain (Paris, 1858), pp. 107-109.

Even the language which a man uses may affect his interpretation of events. Each of us learns to describe his world in words. Some languages are much richer than others. Languages adapted to a particular environment often have a wide choice of words which another tongue lacks entirely. For example, Eskimos have a number of words for snow, each one with a special meaning. We have only one. This difference in language can cause different interpretations of history and different descriptions of the same events.

The following passage may make this matter clear. As you read it, think about the following questions:

1. **How would a Navaho describe a Renaissance painting or a colorful costume?**
2. **How would we describe the same painting or the same costume in our own language?**
3. **How can language influence our interpretation of history?**

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE*

*** From Paul Henle, ed., LANGUAGE, THOUGHT AND CULTURE, (Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan Press: 1958), 7-8.**

This selection deals with the language of the Navaho. Henle points out that the Navaho language uses the same word for green and blue and for brown and grey. On the other hand, the Indian tribe has two words for black.

Today few Americans believe that miracles happen every day. This is not a mind set that plays an important part in our interpretation of events. But political attitudes may. Most Americans and most Russians are convinced that their own way of life is superior to any other. In school they learn an interpretation of history that probably conditions the way in which they perceive events. The different attitudes some of them have are clear in the following short passages:

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

"Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, that each time ended either in the revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes."

The Communist Manifesto

"When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands, which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. -- We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. -- That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, -- That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

The Declaration of Independence

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Do you think that a man who had been taught that the Communist Manifesto correctly interpreted the nature of the world would be likely to perceive events in the same way as a man who believed in the Declaration of Independence? Might mind sets like these have influenced the two men who reported events in the Hungarian Revolution about which you read in Reading III?

READING VI

WHAT IS HISTORY?

For the past five days we have been studying the way in which historians investigate the past. As you read and as you discussed the readings in class, you should have been developing your own interpretation of the nature of historical investigations. If you have been thoughtful, you should have already developed your own definition of history and your own conception of historical method.

For tomorrow you are to write a paper of no more than three hundred words in which you analyze the way in which you would approach a historical problem. Suppose you wanted to determine the cause of the Bolshevik revolution which took place in Russia in 1917. In your paper describe the way in which you would go about investigating this problem using the mode of inquiry which you have been studying.

SECTION I

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY - 500 B.C. to 1300 A.D.: FROM INNOVATION TO TRADITION

Between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D. societies all over the world passed through periods of great innovation. In China, India, Africa, and the Mediterranean, societies were in constant flux, developing new values, institutions, social systems, and technologies. But about 500 A.D. all of these societies began to lose the innovative spirit and to cling to existing folkways and mores. In short, all of these societies slipped into more traditional cultures in which things were done largely as they had been in the past. Western society, like the rest of the world, passed through an innovative phase to a traditional phase in these centuries, and remained primarily traditional for the next eight hundred years. The next three units in this book concern themselves with this long stretch of western history from 500 B.C. to 1300 A.D.

UNIT II

GREECE IN THE GOLDEN AGE

Stating the Issue

In the fifth century before Christ, a huge army from the Persian empire twice invaded the little peninsula that the inhabitants called Hellas and we call Greece. The two emperors, Darius and Xerxes, were confident that they would quickly subdue the disunified Greeks. The Persian army did make rapid progress against the independent cities of northern Greece, but they were repulsed at Athens by the courage of the citizen army and the ingenious strategy of the Athenian leaders. With the Persian defeat, Athens entered an era so brilliant that historians have called it a golden age.

The golden age of Athens was the product of many centuries of development. Over the years, the Ionian tribes that settled the Attic plain on which Athens stood had shaped institutions and a way of life based on a value system called humanism. Succeeding generations of western men have continued to admire the humanist traditions of the golden age. In the process, western man has tended to idealize the Greeks and to set their way of life as the measure against which all societies should be judged. Hundreds of generations of school children have been taught to value the things the Greeks valued. Greek humanism has, therefore, become the root of much of the western value system.

The readings for the next four days focus on elements of the Greek humanist tradition. As you read, ask yourself, "What were the values of the Greeks? How did these values influence their ways of living and their institutions? And as you study remember to apply the methods of historical analysis you learned in Unit I.

READING VII

THE ATHENIAN WAY OF LIFE

The city in which the golden age flourished was situated on the stony plain of Attica. At its largest, Athens never numbered more than 150,000 souls with another 200,000 living in outlying areas. Among the 350,000 residents were nearly 150,000 slaves, another 50,000 resident foreigners or metics who conducted business in Athens but were not citizens, and 150,000 full citizens of whom one-half were women and not entitled to full participation in Athenian life. All of these people, whether slave or citizen, made some contribution to the golden age, for the age produced a number of outstanding contributions in art, drama, architecture, war, philosophy and politics.

What was the Athenian way of life? Your reading for today consists of a twentieth century historian's attempt to construct the Athenian way of life from available sources. As William Stearns Davis, the author, explains, it is an attempt "to describe what an intelligent person would see and hear in ancient Athens if by some legerdemain he were transported into the fourth century B.C. and conducted about the city under competent guidance." Because it is a reconstruction, the reading itself is not first-hand evidence about Greek life. But from this reading you should be able to develop a hypothesis about what values seem to underlie the golden age.

As you read this selection, try to develop a tentative answer to the question: "What values were the basis of the golden age?" In succeeding readings you will be presented with primary evidence with which to test your hypothesis. To help you formulate your hypothesis, think about the following questions:

1. How did Athenians pass their time in the Agora? What do their activities and interests reveal about Greek values?
2. What do the buildings in the Agora reveal about Athenian values?
3. Who are slaves? How do Athenians justify slavery? What contributions did slaves make to the "golden age"? What does the slave system reveal about Athenian values?
4. What was the purpose of Athenian education? What were boys taught in school? What does Athenian education reveal about Greek values?

A DAY IN OLD ATHENS

THE AGORA *

* From William Stearns Davis, A DAY IN OLD ATHENS, (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1914) 16-25 passim.

These passages from Davis' book tell of life and times around the Agora, including the discussions that go on, the transactions that are made, and the ordinary doings of the Athenians. In addition, a passage on the life of slaves and on the education given to young Athenians is included.

READING VIII

ATHENIAN VALUES

The Greeks were the most literate of all ancient civilizations. Their probing minds, seeking answers to great questions, led them to expressing their answers in poetry, plays, and philosophical treatises. As a result, a wealth of literature from ancient Greece remains for modern readers. This great body of writing provides the modern scholar with a host of evidence about Greek life.

Reading 8 contains a small sampling of Greek literature. Yet even this small sample can provide insight into what the Athenians thought about life, work, death, love, justice, virtue, and beauty. As you learn what the Greeks thought, you should discover what values they held most dear -- that is, you should discover what they thought was good and bad, what was worthy or worthless, what they believed men should or should not do.

In both your reading outside of class and your class discussion yesterday, you developed a hypothesis about the major values of the Athenians. Readings 8 and 9 will provide evidence which will help you to decide whether or not your hypothesis about Greek values was accurate. As you read, keep in mind the questions which precede each excerpt and ask yourself whether or not the evidence you are gathering supports your hypothesis.

SOPHOCLES' VIEW OF MAN *

The following speech is made by the chorus in Sophocles' play ANTIGONE. Sophocles was an Athenian dramatist who is known to literary scholars as the master of Greek tragedy. ANTIGONE is the last of three plays concerned with the tragedies surrounding the royal house of Thebes, one of the Greek city states. As you read this speech, keep in mind the following questions.

1. What is Sophocles' view of man? What implications does this view have for the kind of political institutions that should be developed?

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* From Sophocles, ANTIGONE, F. Kinchin Smith, trans. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1950).

This famous chorus from Sophocles' ANTIGONE begins with the words "Many amazing things exist, and the most amazing is man." From there the chorus extolls the virtues of man and his potential.

THE HEROIC VIRTUES

The Greek Bible was the works of Homer. Like the Old Testament, Homer's tales tell of ancient heroes who were held up to be models of perfect (and sometimes imperfect) behavior. Greek school boys read and reread Homer and were taught to emulate the heroes the bard described. In this passage, two of Homer's heroes, Achilles and Hector, are about to confront each other in a fight to the death in the famous Trojan war. The personal conflict became inevitable when Hector slew Achilles' dearest friend, Patroclus, while Achilles was sulking in his tent. In the following passage the two prepare for mortal conflict and tell of their reasons for fighting. As you read, keep in mind the following questions:

1. What reasons does each give for going to fight?
2. If you were a Greek school boy, which virtues of the two heroes do you think Homer would want you to emulate?

* From Walter Agard, THE GREEK MIND, (New York: Van Nostrand, 1957), 96-97.

Two selections from Homer's ILIAD indicate the heroic values of the Greeks. One gives Achilles' reasons for fighting with Hector, in order to avenge the death of his friend, Patroclus, and the other gives the reasons of Hector, who lays aside considerations of family to protect the honor of his city.

HESIOD'S ADVICE ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Hesiod was an early Greek poet (ca. 750 B.C.) whose writings were full of sage advice about everyday things. In his WORKS AND DAYS he told stories about the Greek gods and their relationship to men which illustrated the way men should behave in their day-to-day living. The following passage sums up some of this advice. Consider the following questions.

1. What general principle underlies Hesiod's advice?
2. What is Hesiod's opinion of man? How does it compare with Sophocles' idea?
3. What implications does Hesiod's advice have for the development of institutions?

* From Walter Agard, THE GREEK MIND, op. cit., 102.

This selection from Hesiod's WORKS AND DAYS extols the virtues of a well-regulated life, doing each task at its appointed time. Hesiod explains that contentment will proceed from always being careful to take care of the ordinary little things in life.

SOME GREEK APHORISMS

One of the classic ways of teaching the young is to give them short statements of principle, or aphorisms, as guidelines for their lives. The Greek poets wrote many passages that later became aphorisms for young Greeks. The following is a sampling.

> **1. What patterns of behavior should Greek boys and girls follow on the basis of these aphorisms?**
>
> **2. What kind of political institutions and social structure would best allow Greeks to follow these rules?**

*** From Walter Agard, THE GREEK MIND, (New York: Van Nostrand, 1957), 106-107.**

These aphorisms hail the virtues of courage, opportunism, associating with the rich and well-born, and nobility.

ARISTOTLE'S CONCEPT OF VIRTUE

Aristotle was an Athenian philosopher and student of Plato who lived when the golden age of Athens began to wane. He tried to write down general principles of justice, virtue, good, and beauty that he had derived from studying men's experiences. The following passage reveals his idea of virtue. As you read, consider these questions.

> **1. How does Aristotle define "mean"?**
>
> **2. Is there any difference between Aristotle's concept of virtue and Homer's?**

*** From Walter Agard, THE GREEK MIND, op. cit., 149.**

This famous selection from Aristotle explains the Greek philosopher's idea of the "mean." Aristotle explains that a man ought to do what he is able to do, but that he should not brag about his capabilities or be unduly modest about them.

READING IX

THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION

Athens was unique in the ancient world because it gave political power to a much greater proportion of its inhabitants than did other societies. The empires of the Near East and the other Greek city states reserved political leadership to a minute portion of the "best" men. In contrast, every native born Athenian male was allowed to participate in his city's political process. By ancient standards Athens certainly must be called a democracy. Yet, better than half the inhabitants of Athens were denied any participation in political affairs. Women, slaves, and "foreigners" who resided in Athens were not allowed to vote or hold office.

The selections in Reading 9 are designed to provide you with evidence for understanding the nature of Athenian democracy. The first selection is the description of the Athenian Constitution supposedly given by one of Athens' greatest leaders, Pericles, in an oration to the Athenian people. The account of the speech was written by the Greek historian, Thucydides, who, by his own admission, did not have a text of the speech itself and had to be content with writing a reconstruction of it based on what people had heard.

The second selection is drawn from an anonymous source. This author's view of the worth of the Athenian constitution is far different from Pericles'. Yet the two documents taken together can provide a fairly accurate picture of the Athenian constitution if the methods of historical investigation are applied to the problem.

As you read these selections, try to develop answers to the following questions based on the evidence presented in both selections.

1. Who are the political leaders of Athens? On what basis are political decisions made? What is the role of the individual citizen as defined by the Athenian constitution?
2. Is the Athenian constitution consistent with Athenian values? Does the constitution promote the kind of behavior that is consistent with Athenian values? Does the constitution promote the kind of society that is consistent with Athenian values?
3. What are the frames of reference of the two writers? How do their frames of reference color their interpretations of the Athenian constitution?
4. What do these frames of reference reveal about Athenian values?

PERICLES' FUNERAL ORATION *

"Our form of government does not enter into rivalry with the institutions of others. We do not copy our neighbors, but are an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at him which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for the authorities and for the laws, having an especial regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as to those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

"And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; our homes are beautiful and elegant; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.

"Then, again, our military training is in many respects superior to that of our adversaries. Our city is thrown open to the world, and we never expel a foreigner or prevent him from seeing or learning anything of which the secret if revealed to an enemy might profit him. We rely not upon management or trickery, but upon our own hearts and hands. And in the matter of education, whereas they from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face the perils which they face. And here is the proof: The Lacedaemonians come into Attica not by themselves, but with their whole confederacy following; we go alone into a neighbor's country; and although our opponents are fighting for their homes and we on a foreign soil, we have seldom any difficulty in overcoming them. Our enemies have never yet felt our united strength; the care of a navy divides our attention, and on land we are obliged to send our own citizens everywhere. But they, if they meet and defeat a part of our army, are as proud as if they had routed us all, and when defeated they pretend to have been vanquished by us all.

"If then we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers? --since we do not anticipate the pain, although, when the hour comes, we can be as brave as those who never allow themselves to rest; and thus too our city is equally admirable in peace and

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* Thucydides, THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, Benjamin Jowett, translation (Bantam Books, New York: 1960) pp. 116-18.

in war. For we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action. For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting too, whereas other men are courageous from ignorance but hesitate upon reflection. And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spirits who, having the clearest sense of both the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger.

In doing good, again, we are unlike others; we make our friends by conferring, not by receiving favors. Now he who confers a favor is the firmer friend because he would fain by kindness keep alive the memory of an obligation; but the recipient is colder in his feelings, because he knows that in requiting another's generosity he will not be winning gratitude but only paying a debt. We alone do good to our neighbors not upon a calculation of interest, but in the confidence of freedom and in a frank and fearless spirit. To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. This is no passing and idle word, but truth and fact; and the assertion is verified by the position to which these qualities have raised the state. For in the hour of trial Athens alone among her contemporaries is superior to the report of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which he sustains at the hands of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him. And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses; there are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages; we shall not need the praises of Homer or of any other panegyrist whose poetry may please for the moment, although his representation of the facts will not bear the light of day. For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. Such is the city for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and every one of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf. . . ."

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A CRITIQUE OF ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY*

* From Pseudo-Xenophon, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ATHENIANS, Henry G. Dakyns, trans. in Francis R. B. Godolphin, ed. THE GREEK HISTORIANS, II, (New York: Random House, 1942), 633-43 passim.

In this selection, the "Old Oligarch," as he has come to be known, satirically criticizes Athenian democracy. He argues that when everyone can participate in political decision making, mediocrity becomes the watchword of the day.

READING X

THE HERITAGE OF GREECE

The golden age of Athens lasted only one hundred years. After the defeat of the Persians in 479 B.C. only seventeen years elapsed before Athens became embroiled again in war, this time with another Greek city-state, Sparta. The long series of wars that followed left both Athens, the loser, and Sparta, the victor, ravished of economic and political vitality. By the middle of the fourth century, both cities had been absorbed in the gigantic empire of Alexander the Great. Yet, within the lifetime of a man and his son, the Athenian culture synthesized the elements of the past into a glorious age. The two of them, father and son, would have seen the building of the Erectheum and the Parthenon on the Acropolis; they would have attended the first performance of the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripedes, and Aristophenes; they would have heard Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides recite their own poems; they would have read the first editions of the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides; they would have listened to the philosophical arguments between Socrates and his most famous pupil, Plato; and they would have deliberated in the Assembly and the Council of Five Hundred with such great political leaders as Pericles.

What the old man and his son would have witnessed was the most dramatic explosion of artistic activity in what is now Europe. The most memorable aspect of this cultural explosion was not the quantity of artistic and literary works, but their quality. Its buildings, plays, poems, and histories are all excellent. They demonstrate what man can do when he pushes himself to the limits of his capacities. Hence they represent the essence of the Greek value system. The Greeks believed that man should live up to his potential, that he should do all that was humanly possible in every field of endeavor from war to philosophy. More than anything else, this basic ethic was responsible for the development of the golden age.

The values of the Greeks differed greatly from the value systems of people from the surrounding empires. In Persia and Egypt, rulers were revered as gods. Ordinary men were regarded as little more than beasts, fit only to carry out the ruler-god's will. The Greeks, on the other hand, held that human beings were exalted creatures with resources of mind and body capable of great achievements. Allow men the freedom to cultivate these resources, they argued, and they would produce great artistic works, perform remarkable physical feats, and develop outstanding philosophies. This was purpose enough in life--to develop one's potential to its ultimate limit. Life was to be lived not to serve a god-king but to serve oneself.

When all the peoples around them held such a lowly view of man, why should the Greeks have developed a sense of man's worth; why should they have recognized the great potential inherent in human beings? The historian can only speculate about the answers to this question. Perhaps the Greek view of man developed from their own experience in developing civilization on the thin, rocky soil of the Greek peninsula. Merely to get enough to eat required exhaustive efforts of mind and body. Greece is not a land of fertile soil such as the Sumerians and Egyptians found in their rich river valleys. Because the land was poor, the early Greek settlers had to call upon all the intelligence, strength, and stamina they could muster to make it yield enough food to survive. Perhaps their ability to meet the challenge posed by poor natural resources made the Greeks recognize what man could do if he applied his mind and strength to the task.

But if meeting the challenge of limited resources were the sole explanation for the development of Greek culture, then it follows logically that other men living in similar situations would also have produced great works of art and literature. We know that many did not. Similar cultural achievements did not emerge out of the German forests or the mountainous slopes of Tibet. The Eskimos, facing an even more severe limitation of natural resources, have not developed a great culture. Hence, additional factors must be involved in the case of the Greeks.

Perhaps the Greek religion contributed to their exalted view of the human potential. In contrast to men of other ancient civilizations, the Greeks believed in gods who were just like men, except that they were more powerful, beautiful, skillful, and intelligent and, of course, immortal. The Greek gods were inspirations to men; not regulators of men. Most ancient peoples looked upon the gods primarily as punishers of wrongdoers, but the Greeks regarded their deities as ideals to which men should aspire. To be as beautiful as Aphrodite, as powerful as Zeus, as athletic as Hermes, or as wise as Pallas Athena was the goal of the true Greek, though he knew he could never attain their full perfection. Nonetheless, the ideal gave the Greeks incentive because the ideals defined precisely the potentials of man. The Greek religion, therefore, held out to its believers goals for which they were to strive. In so doing, religion challenged the Greeks to develop every facet of their capacities to its utmost limit. The historian may muse, therefore, on the influence of religion in Greek life, and hypothesize that the Greek conception of the gods was in part responsible for the high regard in which the Greeks held mankind.

The Greeks held an exalted view of man, but they defined the term "man" narrowly. Greeks and only Greeks might aspire to perfection, and within Greek society itself, only citizens and not slaves or metics could share the advantages of the good life. As we wonder at the glories of ancient Athens and admire the remarkable outpouring of the human spirit which it represents, we should also be aware of its economic base--slavery--and its rationalization for this institution--a type of primitive racial philosophy. The Greeks included only their own kind within the definition of man. All outsiders were inferior--barbarians-- fit only for servitude. Greek society developed ideals of human equality for the privileged, but denied the most elementary freedoms for the men and women who slaved for them.

This unusual combination of values underlay the Greek economic system. Athens had to decide what to produce, how to produce it, and how to distribute goods. Since slaves could raise the crops and do the menial tasks for citizens, the men of ancient Athens were free to devote their energies to governing the city and creating great works of art. Moreover, a deep vein of silver lay just outside Athens. The Athenians used this silver to trade for wheat and other foodstuffs from Asia Minor, Italy, and even southern France. Timber cut from the Greek hillsides was used to build ships which carried Greek traders all over the Mediterranean.

Because labor was plentiful and cheap, the Greeks felt no necessity to invest capital in machinery. Greek science, unsurpassed anywhere in the world for the next 2000 years, never produced an industrial revolution. Athenians were great astronomers, great sculptors, great mathematicians, great architects, poets, musicians, and dramatists, but they were not great inventors of practical machines. Surplus was invested in buildings to glorify both man and the gods, not in tools to ease the lot of slaves.

The way in which goods were distributed also reflects the value system of the Greeks. In most ancient societies, surplus wealth was reserved for a tiny elite composed of priests, warriors, and rulers. Wealth went to the powerful, and power was inherited from one's ancestors. In ancient Persia and Egypt, a wide gulf yawned between the tiny minority who lived lives of extreme luxury and the great mass of men who barely eked out a mere subsistence. In Athens, however, a much larger proportion of men shared the benefits of the economy.

The ordinary Athenian citizen did not have to toil long hours to obtain enough food to live; slaves did that for him. Hence most Athenian citizens, and not just a privileged elite, were able to devote their time and energy to the creation and appreciation of art, the development of philosophy, the running of government, the cultivation of athletic skills, and the writing of literary masterpieces. Nowhere else in the ancient world did such a large proportion of the community contribute to and partake of the richness of the culture.

The distribution of wealth in the Athenian city-state among a large proportion of its inhabitants resulted from and contributed to the Athenian value system. The value system proclaimed the worth of man and the dignity of human life. Because of this attitude, the Athenians did not believe that wealth was the private preserve of a ruling elite but only one of the instruments which enabled all citizens to live their lives to the fullest. The Athenian, freed from exhausting toil, continually extended himself beyond his previous accomplishments, and in so doing reinforced the Athenian faith that man was capable of great wonders.

The Athenian social structure was also a product of this concept of man. The Athenians, believing that man should live up to his potential, argued that an individual achieved social status only after pushing himself to the limits of his capacities. Those with great possibilities who achieved great things were accorded great respect. Those with limited potential who made the best use of their talents were also admired. Those unworthy of respect were men with great potential who did not achieve anything of merit and those with pretenses of being better than they were. Social status in Athens was earned. A man did not gain the respect of his fellows unless he had proven himself. In other societies of the day, social prestige was not earned, but was prescribed by custom and tradition. Who deserved respect and who did not was generally determined by birth. The son of a king or a priest was accorded all respect, rights, and privileges of his exalted station while the son of a farmer or artisan could only expect to remain in his father's position for his entire life.

In contrast, the son of a lowly Athenian citizen, with proper application of his energies to the cultivation of his talents, could rise in the social scale to become one of the most respected men in the city. This social mobility was somewhat lessened, however, by the fact that a father who could afford to buy the best education for his son was more likely to assure his son's success than a father who could not. Nonetheless, movement up and down the Athenian social scale was much more easily accomplished than in the more rigid societies of Egypt and Persia.

Like social status, political leadership in Athens depended upon a man's abilities and achievements. In the dynastic empires of the Middle East, political leaders were the sons of former rulers. In Athens, on the other hand, political power was open to all who could grasp the reins of state and solve the cities' problems. To become a leader in old Athens the politician had to enjoy the favor of a significant proportion of the city's citizens. To gain their endorsement, the leader had to satisfy their demands and needs. Consequently, politicians rose to power because they were able to persuade the populace that their programs were best for the city, and once in office the leader maintained support by carrying out programs that benefitted his followers.

The most successful politician of old Athens, Pericles, maintained his strength by operating a smooth-running political machine. Pericles ran the city of Athens in much the same way that a modern political "boss" would run the city of Chicago. One of Pericles' favorite techniques to gain political support was to extend the vote to those who did not have it. Once they obtained the prize, of course, they would vote for their benefactor in overwhelming numbers. Since Pericles, as head of the state, was responsible for all public projects, he controlled the parceling out of jubs. He naturally gave contracts to his political supporters; the Parthenon and the Erectheum on the Acropolis were built by people who voted for him in elections.

Although Pericles was much like a modern political boss in the way he gained power, he was decidedly unlike his twentieth century counterparts in his personal characteristics. In addition to proving himself to be a capable political leader, Pericles also proved himself to be a superior Greek. As much as any man of his time, he fulfilled his potential. He was an excellent orator, author, warrior, and athlete. Though he was not an architect or sculptor himself, he was an able judge of art and saw to it that Athens was enhanced with the beautiful temples that now sit in ruins on the Acropolis.

Pericles was given political power because the Athenian political system encouraged such men to rise. All citizens were not only allowed, they were expected to participate in making the political decisions of the day. The Greeks believed that all citizens of the state were capable of sensible political decisions. They did not believe, as men of surrounding civilizations did, that order and progress depended upon the wisdom of a small elite. As a consequence, all Athenian citizens had a hand in deciding who their leaders would be and what policies they would pursue. A man who could cultivate popular favor and live up to the Greek ideals was likely to rise in the political system. Pericles was such a man, and the results of his leadership are testimony to the Greek faith that man is capable of great accomplishments.

This humanistic faith still lives in western tradition. The Greeks spread their way of life throughout the Mediterranean world by establishing colonies on every shore of the sea. Alexander the Great took Greek ideas with him as he conquered the Middle East. And the conquerors of Greece, the Romans, so admired the values of the people they subdued that they incorporated their values into their own way of life. Christian philosophers too picked up the ideas of Hellas and worked them into their theology. At least two of the gospels, the Gospel of John and the Gospel of Luke, the Greek physician, are steeped in Greek philosophy. St. Thomas Aquinas, the Christian philosopher of a later age, revised Catholic theology on the basis of his reading of Aristotle. Renaissance scholars unearthed many of the remains of Greek life in the fifteenth century and were profoundly influenced by what they discovered.

Since the fifteenth century generation upon generation of western school boys have been raised on Greek literature. In the nineteenth century a boy's education was not considered complete unless he had translated from the original Greek the works of Homer, Hesiod, Plato, and Aristotle. Modern philosophers still argue over the profound meanings of the ancient Greek philosophers who raised almost all of the questions that concern twentieth century thinkers. Every world history book contains at least one chapter on the "golden age." Many modern buildings, especially government buildings, draw their inspiration from the architecture found on the Acropolis. The ancient Greek tradition of humanism has become the living tradition of western man. More than we knew, we are all Greeks, all the intellectual heirs of several generation of men from a few city states who set the standards for western man.

UNIT III

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Stating the Issue

When Greece was enjoying her "golden age," Rome was but a tiny city state built around seven hills in the middle of the Italian peninsula. The hardy people who lived in the city devoted their lives to cultivating the lush soil of the Latium plain. When they were not farming they were fighting against the tribes who repeatedly invaded their homeland. As the Romans subdued each tribe they extended their domain to include ever larger portions of the peninsula. Finally, they confronted the Greeks themselves who had set up colonies on the southern toe of the "boot." After a short war, the little city was master of all Italy.

The Romans had conquered the peninsula almost by accident. They had fought against their neighbors to keep them from threatening Rome's security. But even after they had subdued all of Italy, the Romans still faced one great enemy, the African city of Carthage. Carthage dominated hundreds of towns on the shores of the Mediterranean and thereby controlled most of the commerce that plied back and forth on her gentle waves. The two rivals eventually became embroiled in a century-long series of wars which ended in the complete destruction of Carthage. At last Rome found herself master of the Mediterranean. It was but a short step to bring neighboring lands into a giant empire.

The government that fashioned the Roman Empire was the Roman Republic. Under the Republic the most powerful political body was the Senate. The Senate consisted of the wealthiest and most prestigious of the Romans. It made the laws, appointed the executive officers of the Republic, and directed the administration of the country. In general, the Senate looked to the past for guidance. Senate debates often hinged on whether or not a proposed course of action would continue the traditions of the Republic. But despite its conservative leanings, the Senators created the Roman Empire, a political entity unknown to the ancient world.

The Roman Empire was a giant creature, encompassing hundreds of different tongues and tribes. It included the sophisticated Greeks, the barbaric Gauls, the oriental Egyptians, and the savage Celts. The city of Rome itself was larger than any other ancient city; at its zenith it contained about 1,000,000 souls, many of foreign origin. The central government had to administer all of these different people spread out over an area that stretched from Egypt in the southeast to Britain in the northwest.

The creation of the Empire created mammoth tasks and posed virtually insoluble problems. Who was to have charge of the whole empire? How could the government see that its orders were carried out? How could the government in Rome decide what was good for the people who lived in Egypt? How

could the government bring about unity in an empire made up of so many different peoples?

These were but a few of the problems that confronted the Roman Empire. In solving them, the government had to break with tradition. The old seat of power, the Senate, gave way to the Emperor. The small farmer, the basis of Rome's citizen army, was displaced by huge plantations manned by slaves. The old patrician, land-based class succumbed to a rich merchant class. In short, the whole society changed; the government, the economy, and the social structure were all transformed. How the Romans met the challenge of change is the major issue of this unit.

READING XI

IN THE DAYS OF CAESAR AUGUSTUS

Rome defeated Carthage in 202 B.C. Following their victory, the Romans devoted themselves to rounding out their empire. They subdued Gaul, Britain, Greece, Turkey, the Middle East and North Africa. The acquisition of all this territory challenged the Republican government. Opportunities for corruption multiplied as the Senate established provincial governments in lands which the Romans had conquered. Senators found many ways to enrich themselves from the fabulous bounty of the empire. The small farmer, the traditional backbone of the Roman economy, was displaced by the competition from huge plantations established by opportunistic government officials. People from every corner of the Empire poured into the city of Rome and swelled its population. Everywhere the old ways of doing things fell victim to the challenges of the new Empire.

For the government itself, the most difficult challenge came from the victorious generals who sought to impose their will on Rome. The Senate, guilty of great corruption, had enriched itself on the work of the Roman soldier. The soldiers demanded their slice of the pie, and willingly followed their generals who promised them land and riches in return for their support. One after another, generals would return from conquering a new land and work their way into command of the government. Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Julius Caesar, and Marc Antony followed each other in succession, each defeating his predecessor to gain power. The government of Rome belonged to the general who had the greatest army and who could keep it loyal by using his command of the government to distribute land and wealth to the soldiers.

This time of troubles lasted one hundred years. No one, it seemed, could long remain master of the Roman Empire. Julius Caesar did succeed in establishing himself as a popular dictator, but he was assassinated in the Senate chamber by a group of jealous senators. Not until his nephew, Octavius, had subdued Marc Antony and Caesar's murderers did a measure of orderly government return to Rome.

How Octavius was able to restore order to Rome is the subject of this reading. Upon gaining power, Octavius changed his name to Caesar Augustus (Caesar, after his uncle, and Augustus, to indicate that he was divine). He ruled the empire as dictator from 29 B.C. to 9 A.D. Finding out how Caesar Augustus ruled is no easy task. Very few official records remain from his reign. In the twentieth century we must depend almost entirely on Caesar Augustus' own description of his rule and the descriptions of those historians who lived during or shortly after his time. Reading XI contains various accounts from these sources. You will have to put all your historical skills to use in order to develop an explanation of how Augustus governed the Empire. As you read, therefore, keep the following questions in your mind.

1. How did Caesar Augustus organize the government of the Empire? How much power did he keep to himself? How much power did he delegate to others?

2. Did Augustus attempt to retain traditions or did he attempt to create new governmental machinery for dealing with new problems?

3. Which of these accounts of his reign do you accept as being the most accurate? How do you reconcile the conflicting interpretations given by the various authors?

Caesar's Account of His Reign *

In order that the Roman world would know what he had done for it, Caesar Augustus ordered the following account of his reign to be inscribed on bronze and placed before his tomb. The following extracts are what he wished posterity would remember him for.

* From William Stearns Davis, READINGS IN ANCIENT HISTORY, II, ROME AND THE WEST, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1913), 167-171.

In this rather egocentric version of Augustus' reign, the first Roman emperor explains that he reformed the civil government of Rome, undertook several successful wars (foreign and civil), paid the Romans huge sums in welfare payments, built up the city of Rome, and cleared the sea of pirates.

The Judgment of Tacitus * *

The following account of Augustus' reign is contained in the works of the great Roman historian, Tacitus, who wrote sixty years after the death of Augustus. Tacitus had been persecuted by another emperor, Domitian.

After the destruction of Brutus and Cassius, Augustus won over the soldiers with gifts, gave cheap grain to the people, and restored repose to the realm. As his importance increased, he concentrated in himself the functions of the Senate, the magistrates, and the laws. He was wholly unopposed. The boldest spirits had already fallen in battle and the remaining nobles had been advanced in wealth and position by the revolution. The men of the provinces were pleased because they distrusted the rivalries of Senate leaders and the graft which officials had formerly taken. Moreover, the laws no longer protected them because violence, intrigue, and corruption were common. At home many of the younger leaders had been born during the Civil Wars and did not know the Republic in its best days.

Thus the state had been revolutionized; not a trace of the old morality was left. Stripped of equality, everyone looked to the top for the commands of the sovereign.

* From Tacitus, ANNALS. Language simplified and modernized by John M. Good.

The Judgment of One of Augustus' Generals *

Velleius Paterculus had served in Augustus' imperial army. He was an enthusiastic supporter of Augustus and Augustus' Successor, Tiberius. Here he gives his judgment of the first emperor.

* From Velleius Paterculus, HISTORY OF ROME, II, F. W. Shipley, trans. (Cambridge, Mass.:, Harvard University Press, 1924), 237-239.

Paterculus praises his emperor to the skies. He tells of many of the things Augustus himself recounts in his own account, and in addition paints the emperor as a rather modest man who was forced to become the emperor of Rome. Paterculus indicates that Augustus carried out important reforms to reduce the power of the magistrates and senators, whom he thinks had got out of hand.

The Judgment of an Early Biographer **

Suetonius, who wrote the following selection, devoted his life to chronicling the lives of the emperors of Rome. The following is his judgment of Caesar Augustus.

** From Suetonius, THE LIVES OF THE TWELVE CAESARS, A. Thomson and T. Forester, trans. in William C. McDermott and Wallace E. Caldwell, READINGS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1951) 410-411.

Suetonius chronicles the administrative reforms Augustus made, establishing a formal government for the newly acquired provinces. Suetonius indicates that Augustus took steps to shore up the empire where Roman authority was weak; and that he was able to restore order to the strife-torn Empire by military victory and political sense.

READING XII

HOW ROME RAN HER EMPIRE

By today's standards the Roman Empire was not extraordinarily large. Its length and breadth was nearly the same as that of the United States. But at the time of Christ there were no radios, telephones, jet planes, or television sets to make the administration of large areas relatively easy. Modern methods of communication make it possible for decision makers to acquire quickly the information they need. Moreover, once a decision is made it is relatively easy to tell the entire nation--even the world--about it through mass media. If an emergency requires personal attention, a government official can be whisked to the scene many miles away in a few hours by jet plane. By way of contrast, months passed before the entire Roman Empire learned of Julius Caesar's assassination, and it took three years for Caesar Augustus to seek out his rival, Marc Antony, and subdue him.

To add to the burden of administration, the Roman Empire consisted of many diverse types of peoples, each with its own customs and mores. To govern her subject nations without inciting their anger required special qualities from the Roman governors. Keeping everyone happy and at peace was no small task, especially when one considers that the Roman governors were required to see that Rome's interests were protected, even if these interests violated the customs of the subject people. For example, the provinces on the frontier had to resist invasion from outside the empire. The men of subject nations were required to give up their lives to defend a government that was 500 to 1,000 miles away.

Rome surmounted these difficulties with remarkable skill. For nearly 200 years after Caesar Augustus came to power, the whole Roman world remained at peace. Commerce flourished and the economy of the Empire prospered. The political turbulence that had preceded Augustus' rise to power remained at a minimum. All parts of the Empire were governed well and were prosperous.

How did Rome accomplish so much when the difficulties were so great? Reading XII contains some evidence that should help you answer this question. As you read, keep the following questions in mind.

1. How would Cicero's ideas for governing a province solve some of the problems of running an empire? On what basis does Cicero think Roman governors should make decisions?

2. What was the decision-making process in the Roman Empire? What factors were taken into consideration? Who ultimately made decisions?

3. How did the Romans see that their decisions were carried out? How did the Romans protect their interests in the provinces?

4. Of what use is Pliny's and the Emperor's correspondence to the historian? What special problems does the historian have in using such correspondence? What advantages does the correspondence give him?

Cicero on How to Run an Empire *

Marcus Cicero was a Roman statesman who lived at about the time of Augustus. His brother was governor of the province of Asia (modern Turkey). In this letter he gives his brother some advice about how to administer the affairs of his domain.

* From Cicero, LETTERS TO HIS BROTHER in Paul MacKendrick, THE ROMAN MIND AT WORK, (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1958) 109-110.

Decision Making **

The following correspondence between Pliny, the governor of Bythnia (northern Turkey), and Trajan, the Roman Emperor (98-117 A.D.) reveals how decisions were made regarding the administration of the provinces.

** From William Stearns Davis, READINGS IN ANCIENT HISTORY, II, ROME AND THE WEST, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1913), 215-218.

In these letters between the provincial governor of Nicomedia, Pliny, and the Roman Emperor, Trajan, the process of decision making is revealed. Pliny asks for the emperor's advice on a number of matters, ranging from the establishment of a volunteer fire company to the construction of an aqueduct. Trajan's advice is generally limited to statements of general policy that should guide Pliny's decisions.

Egypt Under Rome ***

The Roman geographer, Strabo, traveled to all parts of the Empire and recorded his findings for posterity. In the following selection he describes Egypt under Roman rule.

*** From William Stearns Davis, _op_. _cit_., 172-173.

Strabo describes the administration of Egypt under Caesar Augustus. He indicates that the governor is appointed by the Emperor, that three Roman legions are stationed in Egypt to maintain order, and that many of the native magistrates have been retained to carry out the administration of the province.

READING XIII

ROMAN LAW AND CHRISTIAN CITIZENS

The Romans governed their empire well for they approached the problems of ruling with what Roman philosophers called humanitas. Though humanitas cannot easily be defined, it means respect for human dignity and humanitarianism in dealing with people. Perhaps the greatest example of Roman humanitas was the legal system under which Rome administered her empire. The law was created when Rome was a Republic. As times changed, its specific articles changed, but the underlying principles of Roman law remained constant throughout the centuries. When the Romans began to govern their empire, they took their law with them to govern their subject peoples.

Regardless of race, religion or cultural tradition, Roman law applied to all subjects equally. But late in the first century A.D. the government faced the challenge of dealing with a new minority group, the Christians. In general, the Romans were tolerant of all religions and quite willing to admit the gods of subject peoples to Roman shrines on an equal basis. But Christians refused to acknowledge the existence of other gods and, more important, to recognize the emperor as divine. They set themselves apart small communities where they shared their earthly goods in common. Unlike the Jews, they were full of missionary zeal and attempted to convert nonbelievers to the new faith. Rumors began to circulate that Christian groups held secret rites in which atrocities were committed. For example, their Communion service brought accusations of cannibalism against them.

Because Christians would not submit to Roman authority, they were regarded as dangerous and subversive, and persecuted from time to time. The persecutions were not continuous, but usually occurred during periods of national crisis when the government needed scapegoats on whom to blame disasters. These sporadic persecutions put Roman law to a severe test, as the selections in this reading reveal. As you read consider these questions:

1. What does Festus (in the reading from Acts) indicate was an important right of Roman citizens?
2. What do Trajan and Hadrian say about the kind of evidence allowed in Roman courts? Why is this an important issue?
3. According to Tacitus, why did Nero persecute the Christians? What was the attitude of this Roman historian to the Christians? to their punishment?
4. Do you think that the evidence from these sources is sufficiently reliable and drawn from a diverse enough sampling to lead to valid conclusions? What sort of evidence would you seek to make your conclusions more reliable?

I

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES *

* From J. M. Powis and Edgar J. Goodspeed, trans., THE BIBLE: AN AMERICAN TRANSLATION, (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1935) 137-138.

This passage from "The Acts" tells of Paul's confrontation with the provincial governor, who has him on trial for charges made against him in Caesarea. Paul demands trial in Rome as a Roman citizen, and Festus, recognizing that he is within his rights, grants the petition.

II

THE ANNALS by Tacitus*

But no routine efforts, lavish gifts to the populace by the emperor, or ceremonies to placate heaven, would quell the rumors that the burning of Rome had been due to imperial order. So to scotch such stories, Nero falsely named as culprits, and then subjected to the most extreme punishments, those people hated for their shameful behavior who are commonly called Christians. The man who gave the sect its name, Christus, was executed by authority of procurator Pontius Pilate during the time of emperor Tiberius, but the pernicious superstition was repressed only temporarily. It broke out again not only in Judea, where this disease began, but also in Rome itself, where all things from everywhere that are atrocious and disagreeable come together and become all the fashion.

At first those who confessed to being Christians were arrested. Then from information extracted from them a huge number were convicted, not as much on the charge of setting the fire as simply on the charge of hating the human race. And their deaths were embellished by the cruelest mockery, for they were wrapped in the skins of wild beasts and then torn to death by dogs, or were nailed to crosses, or were burned in flames, if the day had ended, to serve as lamps for the night. Nero provided his own gardens for this spectacle and produced a show like a circus. He even mingled with the crowd, disguised as a charioteer, or stood up in his chariot. And so, even though these Christians were malefactors who deserved severe punishment as public examples, general sympathy grew up for them, since they seemed punished not to protect the public welfare but simply to satisfy the ferocity of one man.

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* From Book 15. Translated by Edwin Fenton.

III

PLINY-TRAJAN CORRESPONDENCE *

(Letter from Pliny to Trajan) It is with me, sir, an established custom to refer to you all matters on which I am in doubt. Who, indeed, is better able, either to direct my scruples or to instruct my ignorance?

I have never been present at trials of Christians, and consequently do not know for what reasons, or how far, punishment is usually inflicted or inquiry made in their case. Nor have my hesitations been slight; as to whether any distinction of age should be made, or persons however tender in years should be viewed as differing in no respect from the full-grown: whether pardon should be accorded to repentance, or he who has once been Christian should gain nothing by having ceased to be one: whether the very profession itself if unattended by crime, or else the crimes necessarily attaching to the profession, should be made the subject of punishment.

Meanwhile, in the case of those who have been brought before me in the character of Christians, my course has been as follows: - I put it to themselves whether they were or were not Christians. To such as professed that they were, I put the inquiry a second and a third time, threatening them with the supreme penalty. Those who persisted, I ordered to execution. For, indeed, I could not doubt, whatever might be the nature of that which they professed, that their pertinacity, at any rate, and inflexible obstinacy, ought to be punished. There were others afflicted with like madness, with regard to whom, as they were Roman citizens, I made a memorandum that they were to be sent for judgment to Rome. Soon, the very handling of this matter causing, as often happens, the area of the charge to spread, many fresh examples occurred. An anonymous paper was put forth containing the names of many persons. Those who denied that they either were or had been Christians, upon their calling on the gods after me, and upon their offering wine and incense before your statue, which for this purpose I had ordered to be introduced in company with the images of the gods, moreover upon their reviling Christ - none of which things it is said can

* From THE LETTERS OF THE YOUNGER PLINY, edited by J. D. Lewis. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1879.

such as are really and truly Christians be compelled to do - these I deemed it proper to dismiss. Others named by the informer admitted that they were Christians, and then shortly afterwards denied it, adding that they had been Christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years, some many years, more than one of them as much as twenty years, before. All these, too, not only honoured your image and the effigies of the gods, but also reviled Christ. They affirmed, however, that this had been the sum, whether of their crime or their delusion; they had been in the habit of meeting together on a stated day, before sunrise, and of offering in turns a form of invocation to Christ, as to a god; also of binding themselves by an oath, not for any guilty purpose, but not to commit thefts, or robberies, or adulteries, not to break their word, not to repudiate deposits when called upon; these ceremonies having been gone through, they had been in the habit of separating, and again meeting together for the purpose of taking food - food that is, of an ordinary and innocent kind. They had, however, ceased from doing even this, after my edict, in which, following your orders, I had forbidden the existence of Fraternities. This made me think it all the more necessary to inquire, even by torture, of two maid-servants, who were styled deaconesses, what the truth was. I could discover nothing else than a vicious and extravagant superstition: consequently, having adjourned the inquiry, I have had recourse to your counsels.

(Letter from Trajan to Pliny) You have followed the right mode of procedure, my dear Secundus, in investigating the cases of those who had been brought before you as Christians. For, indeed, it is not possible to establish any universal rule, possessing as it were a fixed form. These people should not be searched for; if they are informed against and convicted they should be punished; yet, so that he who shall deny being a Christian, and shall make this plain in action, that is by worshipping our gods, even though suspected on account of his past conduct, shall obtain pardon by his penitence. Anonymous informations, however, ought not to be allowed a standing in any kind of charge; a course which would not only form the worst of precedents, but which is not in accordance with the spirit of our time.

IV

DECREE OF HADRIAN *

To Minucius Fundanus (proconsul of Asia). I have received a letter written to me by Serennius Granianus, a most illustrious man, whom you have succeeded. It does not seem right to me to pass over the matter (of the trials of Christians) without investigation, because men can be persecuted without cause and informers can be given too many chances to practice evil ways. Therefore if witnesses can support this petition against the

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* From Eusebius, HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, Book IV, Chapter 9. Translated by Edwin Fenton.

Christians and make their case stand up in a court of law, let them have recourse to this method, but not to mere hearsay evidence. It is quite proper, if anyone makes an accusation, for you to investigate the matter. If anyone therefore accuses Christians and shows that they are breaking the law, pass judgment according to the seriousness of the crime. But, by Hercules, if anyone accuses another falsely to do him injury, arrest the accuser and see to it that you punish him.

READING XIV

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

If Greece unleashed man's intellectual and artistic powers, Rome was built upon his practical genius. Greece's golden age produced philosophers, dramatists, and sculptors; Rome's empire fostered engineers, soldiers, and statesmen. The elegance of the Parthenon symbolizes the glory of Greece; the engineering skill required to build the Pantheon dramatizes one of Rome's greatest virtues. Together with Christianity these two diverse cultures laid the basis for western civilization.

Creating and governing an empire was a practical problem, and the Romans solved it with great skill. Workable methods of administration had to be developed to hold the empire together. Roads, ships, messenger services, and protected trade routes had to be built to establish the necessary communications network. A giant army had to be recruited and organized to maintain peace within the Empire and repulse invasions from without. And a legal system which recognized at once the unity and the diversity of the Empire had to be invented. The Romans were eminently qualified to carry out each of these tasks.

The Roman was a practical man. He was at once a farmer and a soldier. When Rome was at peace, the Roman cultivated his farm; when Rome was at war, he dropped his plowshare and took up the sword. Similar types of skills were needed for both occupations. Both required planning; the farmer must plan his days for plowing, sowing, tilling, and harvesting, and the soldier must plan his campaign and his battle. Both required the ability to measure and survey, the farmer his fields and the soldier his maps. Both required strong bodies to do hard physical labor. Farmer and soldier needed similar virtues. They had to be persistent in the face of difficulties, to conserve scarce resources, persistent to work long hours at back-breaking toil, and dedicated to duty. These skills and virtues which the Romans had acquired equipped them to undertake the practical task of fashioning an empire.

Perhaps the greatest of Roman virtues, and the one most necessary for creating and maintaining an empire, was a well-developed sense of duty. Without a sense of duty, men cannot be persuaded to join with others to fight for a common cause; they cannot be induced to put their state above their personal interests; they will not obey their leaders when ordered to make a sacrifice.

The Roman religion encouraged its believers to do their duty. The Greek gods served as examples of what men should aspire to be. Roman gods, however, were mystical powers who could serve man's purposes if man could get them on his side. If a man wished a good harvest, he had to perform an elaborate ceremony and have his entire family join him in prayer to get the appropriate gods on his side. The relationship between gods and men was a kind of contract. If man did his duty to the gods, the gods would help him. To live up to the contract - to do his duty - was the Roman's first obligation. From a sense of duty to the gods, it was but a short step to a sense of duty to the state. The step was made all the easier because Roman priests later became the Roman political leaders.

The political leaders of ancient Rome were drawn from the heads of the most prominent families. These patricians, as they were called, were at once the priests of the Roman religion and the members of the Senate, the governing body that had charge of public affairs. In the early days of Rome there was thought to be little difference between public affairs and religious affairs, for the fortunes of the State, as much as the fortunes of individual men, depended upon the good will of the gods. As time passed, the senator-priests made decisions less and less on the basis of religious principles and more and more on the basis of utility. More and more the Senators considered what was best for the State, regardless of what the gods seemed to want. But the same sense of duty remained, and the sons of those who had followed the guidance of the Senate for religious reasons maintained the tradition their fathers had established. Moreover, the Senators themselves never forgot that they were serving some purpose larger than themselves. Where they had formerly served the gods, they now served the State. Where before they had tried to do the gods' will, they later tried to fulfill Rome's mission.

In addition to linking priests with secular rulers, the Romans transformed their religious code into a legal code. The laws defined what men must do to be good citizens. Roman law placed obedience to authority at the top of the list. The son must obey his father, the Roman must obey his rulers. But if the law demanded obedience to one's superiors, it also demanded everyone's obedience to the law, regardless of station or power. A Roman ruler could not arbitrarily deprive a man of his freedom or order him to war. All actions by the government had to be carried out within the law. Thus, while the law defined the Roman's duty it also provided him with justice. The Roman could be sure that under the law he would be treated fairly - the government could not act against his person or property without following the rules set down in the legal code.

The law was the cornerstone of the republican form of government which won Rome her empire. Under the Republic, the Senate was the most powerful governing body. It appointed the magistrates, those men who administered the various bureaus of the government and governed the various provinces. It also appointed the consuls, the two executives of the government whose main task was to carry out the wishes of the Senate, in particular, to lead the army in war. Moreover, it made the laws and declared war. The Senate was checked, however, by the Council of Plebs, the governing house that represented the ordinary classes of Roman society. The Council of Plebs elected two tribunes (later the number was enlarged) who sat in the Senate chamber while the members carried on their deliberations. If the Senate passed a bill which the Plebs did not like, the tribunes would shout out "Veto! Veto!" and the bill would be rejected.

The institutions of government grew as much out of the organization of the army as out of the religious institutions of early Rome. For example, the Senate was partly composed of priests who had been drawn from the prominent families, and partly of the heads of important families who could afford the most armor and were most valuable to the army. The Senator's dual role of military and religious leader made him the political leader as well. Those who could not afford much armor made up the infantry and the Council of Plebs. The best warriors among the Plebs became the tribunes. In the early days of the Republic, no business was transacted by the government unless the army had been called out because generally there was no business to be transacted except to decide upon peace or war. When Rome had to decide upon peace or war, the army was assembled, the matter was decided, the generals of the army - the consuls - were elected by the Senate, and plans were made for conducting the war. In the early years, once the decision was made, the entire army would troop off to battle, Senators and Plebs alike. As Rome's holdings grew and war became more complicated the Senators remained behind to carry on the vital tasks of administration.

The Roman army was the greatest military force of ancient times. At first it was made up exclusively of the citizens of the Empire who served in it because it was their duty. This citizen army generally fought armies whose soldiers were hired for pay. Soldiers who fight for a paycheck generally wish to be around after the battle to collect it, while soldiers who fight for their homeland are often more ready to die for it. For this reason, the Roman army had a distinct advantage over most of its opponents. Furthermore, the army was commanded by ingenious leaders who devised new strategies and tactics to outwit their enemies. Most ancient armies were drawn up in phalanxes, a long row of approximately 500 men. These men were instructed to keep their ranks closed and to prevent the enemy from breaking through. While the solid wall of soldiers was a formidable foe it lacked mobility. It could not be turned easily to meet attacks from the side.

The Romans improved upon this system to overcome the lack of mobility by breaking the phalanx into maniples of about 200 men each. Three maniples made up a rank, and though the maniples usually fought together, one or two could break off to meet attacks from the side. Further proof of Rome's practical military genius was its strategy on the sea. In the long wars with Carthage, Rome faced the most experienced navy on the Mediterranean. The Romans were foot soldiers with little knowledge of sea warfare. The

Romans solved this problem by making their warships troop carriers. Instead of ramming their opponent's boat or lobbing flaming torches onto the enemy's deck, the Romans attached their vessel to the foe's by means of grappling hooks. The infantry then boarded the enemy ship and fought the same kind of battle on the sea that it was accustomed to fight on land.

For every problem, Rome found a practical solution. Her army, her government, even her religion were designed to do a useful job. The Romans had little use for speculation about the origin of the universe, the nature of truth, beauty or justice, or the difference between the ideal and the real. They were practical men who understood that getting along in the world required practical solutions. Rome's army and government were practical institutions designed to govern a great empire. Roman law was a practical solution for keeping men living in harmony with one another. Even the Roman sense of duty was a practical ethic which unified men in a common cause.

Useful as Roman institutions had been in conquering an empire, they proved unable to maintain it. The simple republican government could manage affairs when there was only Italy to rule, but it was not equipped to handle the enormous problems of empire. The citizen army was useful when it was possible to disband the armed forces after a campaign, but holding on to an empire required a large standing army of professional soldiers to maintain order in the captured provinces. Practical as the Romans were, they changed their institutions to meet the changed conditions their Empire brought.

To rule the Empire, the government had to be able to act decisively and correctly. These requirements demanded an intricate combination of centralized and decentralized government. Rome could not afford to have the Senate spend months debating a policy when decisions had to be made and transmitted to all parts of the Empire as quickly as possible. Hence, the establishment of policy for the entire Empire rested with the Emperor. Legislative and general administrative power were centralized in his person. On the other hand, local conditions in the giant, multi-lingual empire required specific measures geared to the particular customs and needs of the province. Rome gave her local governors great latitude to use their own good judgment in deciding specific measures for their province. The correspondence between Pliny and Trajan reveals that Trajan, the Emperor, instructed his provincial governor on the general policies of his administration but left it up to Pliny to decide how that policy was to be implemented in specific instances.

Some institutions of the Republic could not be carried over to the Empire. Others could, and they made significant contributions to it. In particular, Roman law qualified Rome above all ancient cities to govern people of many different religions, races and customs. The law was an objective instrument that could at once provide unity and uniform justice throughout the Empire.

The law did not ask whether a man was a Christian, an Egyptian, or a Greek; it applied the same standards to all peoples. Moreover, guarantees of rights were worked into the law to insure against unjust accusations and convictions. Occasionally there were lapses in the application of the law, as in Nero's persecution of the Christians, but such lapses were infrequent and short-lived.

Rome successfully governed her empire for over three hundred years, a remarkable achievement in days when communications were crude and slow. But eventually the Empire collapsed, partially because the task of maintaining it required such great exertion and partially because of certain weaknesses in Roman institutions and character.

The fundamental virtue that had enabled Rome to create and govern her Empire was the Roman sense of duty. Because the Roman recognized that his life was to be devoted to some principle or cause greater than himself, he was willing to put the State and the Empire above his selfish interests. But as Rome acquired her empire she came into contact with ideas that were different from hers, and these ideas began to undermine the basic ethic. First the Romans came into contact with the Greeks at the time when the Greeks had subscribed to epicureanism. Epicureans held that the only reward in life was to have lived it to the hilt - to have enjoyed all those things that human beings could enjoy. Many Romans adopted this value with a vengeance. They began to explore all the human pleasures. Huge banquets were held in which the participants would eat until they were full, go into an adjacent room and empty their stomachs by vomiting, and then return to eat and drink some more. Family became less and less important; the number of divorces rose to such alarming heights that special laws were passed by the emperors to punish those who sought to break off their marriages. Romans lost their sense of duty in the self-seeking of epicureanism.

Christianity also undermined the traditional values of the Romans. By the end of the second century A.D. a large proportion of Roman subjects had embraced Christianity; by the beginning of the fourth century it had become the official religion of the Empire. The old Roman sense of duty had been a secular value. What was important was to serve the state; the individual's fulfillment came in this life by devoting it to Rome's mission. Christianity, on the other hand, preached that man achieved fulfillment not in this life but in the next. The Christian learned that he was to devote his life to no earthly purpose but to consecrate it to God that he might join Him in heaven. The Christian learned, in other words, that he could not serve God and Caesar too.

The eroding of traditional values did much to undermine the Roman Empire. In addition, the government of the Empire contained weaknesses which made it increasingly unable to sustain itself. Foremost among the weaknesses was the problem of transferring power. When one Roman emperor died, there was no orderly means for choosing another in his place. The emperor was not elected and he did not have the right to pass his power on to his son. In the early Empire the emperors picked their successors, and generally all Rome abided by their wishes. But in later years, ambitious generals fought with each other for the privileges and responsibilities of governing. Quite often the contest for the throne erupted into full scale civil war. Rome was constantly disturbed by violence and disorder.

Rome also suffered severe economic difficulties. The weakened government found it difficult to keep the Mediterranean Sea free from pirates. Consequently, trade was disrupted. Roman landowners no longer took an active interest in their farms, and little by little the harvests began to dwindle. Occasionally famines plagued parts of the Empire. The weakened economy further sapped the strength of the central government, and a downward spiral of both government and economy began.

The final blow came with the invasions of the Germanic tribes. Pressed from the East by the Huns and other marauding peoples, the Goths, Franks, and Vandals turned on Rome. Originally they sought protection within the Roman Empire, but once inside the Germans turned on their protectors and began to loot the cities. Rome itself fell prey to the invaders, and the great city on the Tiber was sacked several times. By the fourth century the capital of Rome was moved to Constantinople. Thus removed from the western portions of the Empire, the government could do little to stem the tide of the barbarian invasions. Rome, as a way of life and as a unified Empire, crumbled and fell.

Though the Empire itself dwindled away, the Romans left the West a lasting legacy. The Empire, in controlling all of the Mediterranean area and most of western Europe, was a vital force in transmitting the learning and ideas of the Middle East to western Europe. Not the least of these ideas were the humanistic principles of ancient Greece and the religious ideals of Jesus Christ. And the Romans made their own contribution to the West. Their concept of law has become the cornerstone of western legal systems.

Thus the distinctive characteristics of western civilization owe much of their origin to the great empire that flourished 1500 years ago on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

UNIT IV

TRADITIONAL SOCIETY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Stating the Issue

Toward the end of the fourth century A.D., the Roman Empire, already in decay, began to crumble completely under the attacks of the Germanic tribes. With the breakdown of the central authority in Rome, the relative peace and order of the huge empire came to an end, and the once-flourishing commerce steadily diminished. The Empire slowly broke up into three distinct parts. To the South and East, the followers of the Moslem religion carried out a series of holy wars to bring the entire region under their rule. In the East, church and state were joined together to form a Christian empire under the Patriarch of Constantinople. In the western provinces of Gaul, Germany, and Italy, no single central government was able to establish effective domination of the area. Europe broke up into thousands of tiny political units with only nominal unity imposed by the head of the Roman Church, the Pope.

With the death of the Roman Empire came the end of the highly innovative societies that had dominated the Mediterranean World for centuries. In the course of developing their civilizations, Greece and Rome had invented new political, economic and social systems. By the Middle Ages, this period of dramatic innovation had come to an end. Instead of finding new ways to do things, medieval men were content to let the past govern them. Decisions were made to conform as closely as possible to the traditions of the society.

Most areas of the world, in the non-west as well as the west, have developed highly innovative societies like those of the Greeks and Romans. At about the same time that new political, social and economic systems were being developed by Greece and Rome in the Mediterranean World, Asian and African civilizations, like China, India and the African kingdom of the Sudan, were also making great innovations. Like Europe, these areas slipped into traditional ways between 300 and 800 A.D., but unlike Europe, they did not recapture the innovative spirit around the fifteenth century. Within the traditional European society of the Middle Ages, therefore, were planted the seeds of the modern society which is the ancestor of our own inventive age.

Unit IV concentrates on the characteristics of the traditional society of medieval Europe. As you examine the evidence, keep the following questions in mind: What were the characteristics of the medieval political, economic, and social systems? What values appear to underlie the traditional medieval culture? What elements of modern innovative societies can you find in the medieval world?

READING XV

THE MEDIEVAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

With the breakdown of Roman authority in Europe, the task of ruling Gaul and the other northern and western Roman provinces fell to the Franks. For a time the Franks tried to establish a western Christian empire like the one centered at Constantinople. By the ninth century, Charlemagne, king of the Franks, had made an alliance with the Pope in Rome and seemed to have accomplished the Frankish aim. But the Empire of the West did not last. Upon Charlemagne's death it fell apart at the seams. His three sons began to squabble over who should dominate. In addition, invasions by Arabs, Magyars, and Norsemen constantly threatened the Empire. As a result, political power was dispersed among the large land holders who found it necessary to protect themselves since the kings could not do so.

Consequently a new political system which modern scholars call feudalism developed in Europe. In essence, the feudal system was based on private contracts between large landholders and the soldiers who fought in their armies. The landholder, or liege lord, would grant a tract of land, known as a fief, to one of his soldiers or knights. In return the knight promised to become the liege lord's vassal, serving him in war as a soldier in the army, and in peacetime in many different ways. A vassal might divide his holding up among other soldiers, becoming a liege lord himself. The soldier would thereby become his vassal. In addition large landholders often reserved tracts to the church. The land might go to a bishop or it might be given to a monastery. By the feudal contract, the Bishop or Abbot of a monastery became a vassal of the liege lord. Either prelate performed himself the military service required or sent someone else to do it. If churchmen could be vassals, they could also be liege lords. They often parceled out tracts to knights who would promise them service. At the top of the feudal system sat the king, at least theoretically. In fact, the only real instrument of power the king possessed were the personal feudal contracts he had with several of the largest landholders and the lands he owned as his personal domain.

Title to the land meant much more than owning the property; it also meant power over those who lived on the land. The serfs and artisans who lived on a liege lord's land were his tenants. Tenancy meant more than paying rent; it also meant cultivating the lord's land and observing the rules set down by the lord for governing his fief. For this reason, holders of real estate became rulers and as a result, soldiers and churchmen became the effective political leaders of the Middle Ages. They made the laws, saw that they were administered, and set up their own courts to decide judicial matters.

The documents and charts which follow illuminate the character of the feudal system that developed in Europe during the Middle Ages. As you read these selections, consider the following questions.

1. **How did one become a political leader in the Middle Ages? How does the election of King Otto reveal the way in which leaders were chosen?**
2. **How were political decisions made in the Middle Ages? What institutions existed for the making of decisions? What values influenced the decisions that were made?**
3. **What was the role of the individual citizen in the Middle Ages? How did he gain access to decision makers?**
4. **Do you detect any seeds of innovative political systems in the Middle Ages?**

CHARLEMAGNE'S GOVERNMENT *

The Emperor Charlemagne ruled most of western Europe at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries. His government made the transition from the Roman Empire to medieval feudalism. The following selections from his capitularies, or instructions to his subjects, reveal the character of his government.

Every free man who has four mansi1/ of his own property, or as a benefice from any one, shall equip himself and go to the army, either with his lord, if the lord goes, or with his count. He who has three mansi of his own property shall be joined to a man who has one mansus, and shall aid him so that he may serve for both. He who has only two mansi of his own property shall be joined to another who likewise has two mansi, and one of them, with the aid of the other, shall go to the army. He who has only one mansus of his own shall be joined to one of three men who have the same and shall aid him, and the latter shall go alone; the three who have aided him shall remain at home. . . .

First, that each one voluntarily shall strive, in accordance with his knowledge and ability, to live entirely in the holy service of God in accordance with the precept of God and in accordance with his own promise, because the lord emperor is unable to give to all individually the necessary care and discipline.

Secondly, that no man, either through perjury or any other wile or fraud,

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*** From James Harvey Robinson, READINGS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY, I, (Ginn and Co., Boston: 1904) pages 135, 140-41.**

1/ A mansus contained about 135 acres.

or on account of the flattery or gift of any one, shall refuse to give back or dare to abstract or conceal a serf of the lord emperor, or a district, or land, or anything that belongs to him; and that no one shall presume, through perjury or other wile, to conceal or abstract his fugitive serfs belonging to the fisc, who wrongly and fraudulently claim that they are free.

That no one shall presume to rob or in any way do injury fraudulently to the churches of God, or to widows or orphans or pilgrims; for the lord emperor himself, after God and his saints, has constituted himself their protector and defender.

That no one shall dare to lay waste a benefice of the lord emperor, or to make it his own property.

That no one shall presume to neglect a summons to war from the lord emperor; and that no one of the counts shall be so presumptuous as to dare to excuse any one of those who owe military service, either on account of relationship, or flattery, or gifts from any one.

That no one shall presume to impede in any way a ban or command of the lord emperor, or to dally with his work, or to impede or to lessen or in any way to act contrary to his will or commands. And that no one shall dare to neglect to pay his dues or tax.

That no one, for any reason, shall make a practice in court of defending another unjustly, either from any desire of gain when the cause is weak, or by impeding a just judgment by his skill in reasoning, or by a desire of oppressing when the cause is weal. . . .

CORONATION OF OTTO I *

The following account of the coronation of Otto I of Germany reveals the nature of princely power in the Middle Ages by indicating how Otto became Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (Germany).

After Henry, the father of his country and the greatest and best of kings, had died, all the people of the Franks and the Saxons chose for their king his son Otto, whom Henry had already designated as his successor, and they sent out notices of the coronation, which was to take place at Aachen. . . . And when all were assembled there, the dukes and the commanders of the soldiers and other military leaders raised Otto upon the throne, which was erected in the portico adjoining the church of Karl the Great, and

* From Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar Holmes McNeal, A SOURCE BOOK FOR MEDIEVAL HISTORY (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York: 1905) pages 73-75.

giving them their hands and promising him their fidelity and aid against all his enemies, they made him king according to their custom. Meanwhile the archbishop of Mainz and the clergy and people awaited him within the church. And when he approached the archbishop met him, . . . and went with him to the centre of the church; . . . then turning to the people . . . he said: "I bring you Otto, chosen by God, designated by our lord Henry, and now made king by all the princes; if this choice pleases you, raise your right hands." At this, the whole people raised their right hands to heaven and hailed the new ruler with a mighty shout. Then the archbishop advanced with the king, who was clothed with a short tunic after the Frankish custom, to the altar, on which lay the royal insignia, the sword and belt, the cloak and armlets, the staff with the sceptre and diadem. . . .

The archbishop, going up to the altar, took up the sword and belt and, turning to the king, said: "Receive this sword with which you shall cast out all the enemies of Christ, both pagans and wicked Christians, and receive with it the authority and power given to you by God to rule over all the Franks for the security of all Christian people." Then taking up the cloak and armlets he put them on the king and said: "The borders of this cloak trailing on the ground shall remind you that you are to be zealous in the faith and to keep peace." Finally, taking up the sceptre and staff, he said: "By these symbols you shall correct your subjects with fatherly discipline and foster the servants of God and the widows and orphans. May the oil of mercy never be lacking to your head, that you may be crowned here and in the future life with an eternal reward." Then the archbishops Hildibert of Mainz and Wicfrid of Cologne anointed him with the sacred oil and crowned him with the golden crown, and now that the whole coronation ceremony was completed they led him to the throne, which he ascended. The throne was built between two marble columns of great beauty and was so placed that he could see all and be seen by all.

Then after the Te Deum and the mass, the king descended from his throne and proceeded to the palace, where he sat down with his bishops and people at a marble table which was adorned with royal lavishness; and the dukes served him. Gilbert, duke of Lotharingia, who held the office by right, superintended the preparations (i.e., acted as chamberlain), Eberhard, duke of Franconia, presided over the arrangements for the king's table (acted as seneschal), Herman, duke of Suabia, acted as cupbearer, Arnulf, duke of Bavaria, commanded the knights and chose the place of encampment (acted as marshal). Siegfrid, chief of the Saxons, second only to the king, and son-in-law of the former king, ruled Saxony for Otto, providing against attacks of the enemy and caring for the young Henry, Otto's brother.

THE LIMITS OF THE EMPEROR *

Otto I's great-great-grandson, Henry IV, became embroiled in a struggle for power with Pope Gregory VII. When the Pope had had enough of the upstart emperor, he excommunicated him (that is, the Pope refused Henry the sacraments of the Church, without which a Christian could not be saved). Upon hearing of this development, the other princes of Germany called a council at Oppenheim to decide what to do. An account of what happened follows.

*** From F. Duncalf and A. C. Krey, PARALLEL SOURCE PROBLEMS IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1912) 56-57.**

This account from a medieval chronicle, tells of how the barons of Germany forced Henry IV to seek the absolution of the Pope. The barons, who were put out with Henry's high-handedness, used the excommunication of the Emperor by Pope Gregory VII to rise in rebellion against him. Henry, seeing that he faced a considerable force, agreed to their terms, and sought the Pope out for his absolution.

MEDIEVAL JUSTICE

In medieval times justice was administered by many different authorities, the Church, the liege lord, the lord of a manor, and the King. For day-to-day matters involving the peasant population, a court was generally set up by the owner of the manor on which the peasant lived. Selection A, below, describes the proceedings of one of these courts. For other crimes in

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*** From F. Duncalf and A. C. Krey, PARALLEL SOURCE PROBLEMS IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY (Harper and Brothers, New York: 1912) pages 56-57.**

the community, the Church often administered justice in the manner described by selection B, below.

A
A Manorial Court*

Bailiff.

Sir.

Let the prisoners come before us.

That I will sir. Here they are.

Bailiff.

Sir!

For what reason was this man arrested?

Sir, he took a mare from C's field in a manner that is not lawful.

What is your name?

Sir, my name is William.

William, you have been brought to this court for the mare which is here present, which it is alleged you did take larcenously from the field of C. How do you plead to this charge of larceny and all other charges?

Sir, if any man accuses me of larceny or of any other thing that is against the peace of the king and his crown, I am ready to defend myself physically that I am good and lawful.

William, now tell me how you got this mare, for at least you cannot deny that she was found with you and that you did say that she was your own mare.

Sir, I disavow this mare, and never saw her until now.

Then, William, you put yourself in the hands of the jurors who are the good folk of this manor, and you swear to them that you did not steal her.

No, sir, for these men have their hearts set against me and hate me because of this false charge which has been leveled against me.

Do you think, William, that there are any who will bear false witness against you for hatred of you? No, they are good folk and lawful, but you may challenge any of them whom you suspect have it in their hearts to condemn you. But do what is right and have God before your eyes and confess the truth of this thing and other things that you have done, and do not give yourself over to the enticements of the devil, but confess the truth and you will find us more merciful.

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* From F. W. Maitland and W. P. Baidon, eds. THE COURT BARON (The Seldon Society, London: 1891) pages 63-64. Language simplified and modernized by John M. Good.

Sir, in God's name have pity on me and I will confess to you the truth, and I will put myself wholly on your lawfulness.

William, by my sense of lawfulness you shall have nought but justice! Say, therefore, what you will and conceal nothing.

Sir, my poverty and my great neediness and the enticement of the devil made me steal this mare, and often have they made me do things I should not have done.

God pardon you, William, at least you have confessed in this court that you have larcenously taken this mare and have done many other ill deeds; now name some of those who conspired with you, for you must have had help in these evil deeds.

In truth, sir, I never had a companion in my evil deeds, save only the devil.

William, do you confess to anything else?

No, sir.

Bailiff.

Yes Sir.

Take him away and have a priest prepare him for execution.

B.
FORM FOR ORDEAL BY HOT WATER*

(1) When men are to be tried by the ordeal of hot water, they shall first come to the church in all humility and kneel while the priest says this prayer:

"Aid, O God, those who seek thy mercy and pardon those who confess their sins. . . ."

(2) After the prayer, the priest shall rise and say the mass before all the men who are to be tried, and they shall take part in the mass. . . .

(4) After the mass the priest shall go to the place where the ordeal is to be held, bearing with him the book of the gospels and a cross. . . . He shall deliver the evil spirits from the water before it becomes hot as follows:

"I exorcise thee, water, in the name of omnipotent God, and in the name of Jesus Christ, his Son, our Lord, that you may become. . .freed from the power. . .and the wiles of the devil; so that, if this man who is about to put his hand in you is innocent of the crime of which he is accused, he may escape all injury through the grace of omnipotent God. If he is guilty. . .may the power of omnipotent God prove this upon him, so that all men may fear and tremble at the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . ."

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* From Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar H. McNeal, op. cit., 401-04. (Language simplified and modernized by John M. Good)

(6) Prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ. . .we, thy suppliants, beseech thee. . . to make known to us before all men thy true and righteous judgment; so that this man who is accused. . .and who is about to put his hand into the hot water, is not guilty of that crime, thou wilt so guard him that no harm or injury shall happen to that hand. . . .We again beseech thee to show us thy true and righteous judgment, so that this man, who is accused and is about to undergo the ordeal, is guilty of that crime. . .his guilt may be made known. . .by thy power, and may be shown upon his hand. . . ."

(12) The man who is to undergo the ordeal shall say the Lord's prayer and make the sign of the cross; then the caldron shall be taken from the fire, and the judge shall suspend a stone on a rope in the water at a prescribed depth, and the man shall take the stone out of the water in the name of the Lord. Then his hand shall be immediately bound up and sealed with the seal of the judge, and shall remain wrapped for three days, when it shall be unbound and examined by suitable persons.

READING XVI

THE MEDIEVAL ECONOMY

When the Roman Empire collapsed, the thriving commerce that brought goods from all corners of the Mediterranean Sea to every other corner dwindled to almost nothing. The lack of protection for merchant shippers and the almost constant warfare among minor princes created an environment in which trade could not be carried on. As a consequence, each individual economic community in Europe was thrown back on its own resources to produce all the necessities of life.

The fundamental productive organization of the Middle Ages was the manor. The manor was a self-sufficient community consisting of the lord, who owned the land, and the peasants, or villeins, who worked it. The lord was given the land as a fief by promising to meet his feudal obligations to a greater lord. Along with the title to the land, the lord was also given the right to rule the people who worked on the land. This practice, binding the agricultural workers of a manor to the owners of the land, began with the Roman emperor, Justinian, whose famous code of laws forbade the tenants of an estate to leave the land on which they were born. The code guaranteed that there would always be farm laborers to cultivate the fields, for sons of serfs could not leave the estate for the more attractive life of the city. The law also made the serfs subject to the landowner so that he could employ them in production as he though best.

By the Middle Ages, the Justinian code had become tradition. The medieval landlords, therefore, were secure in the knowledge that serfs or villeins would always work their land for them. This, of course, freed them from worry over where their next meal would come from to devote their minds and energies to their basic occupations - fighting and governing. They worried little about how to make their lands more productive, and, in fact generally turned this responsibility over to a bailiff or seneschal whose only duty was to see that the tenants paid their rent. The serfs, of course, were bound to the provisions of their contracts with their landlord. Each serf held his land as a tenant of the lord and had to do certain services for the lord to maintain his right to his little plot, by which he fed himself and his family.

In addition to the manor, which was the major productive unit of the era, certain towns continued to exist after the fall of the Empire. The towns included the industrial units of Europe, the guilds, which did produce some articles that found their way into the medieval economy. But since serfs were bound to the land, the towns could not recruit a large labor supply, and because medieval warfare restricted trade the guilds had a very small market for their products.

The productive units of the medieval economy were the manor and the guild. Within these two organizations the three basic economic decisions were made - what to produce, how to produce it, and for whom to produce it. The readings that follow contain some of the evidence which historians have used to reconstruct the traditional economy of the Middle Ages. As you study the evidence see if you can determine the answers to the following questions.

1. Who made the decisions about what to produce, how to produce it, and for whom? What factors influenced their decisions?

2. What values guided the economic decisions of the medieval world? What values underlay St. Thomas Aquinas' doctrine regarding the practice of lending money for interest? What implications does St. Thomas Aquinas' doctrine have for the expansion of the medieval economy?

3. Do you detect any seeds of modern market or command economies in the economy of the Middle Ages?

VALUES *

The value system of a society has a profound influence on its economy. What is produced, how it is produced, and the way in which goods are distributed are nearly always dictated by what the people in a society deem good or desirable. For instance, if a people believe liquor is evil, few men will produce it. As in every facet of their lives, medieval Europeans looked to the Church for guidance in their economic lives. The fullest statement of the values propounded by the Church appears in St. Thomas Aquinas' SUMMA THEOLOGICA, an extract from which follows.

* From St. Thomas Aquinas, SUMMA THEOLOGICA, PART II, Second Number, QO LXXVII-LXXVIII, translated by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London, Benziger Bros., Inc., : 1918) 327-28, 330-31, 336-37.

In these selections, Aquinas enjoins the Christian against exchanging goods for profit and against receiving interest for money lent.

A SERF'S CONTRACT*

Most goods in the medieval world were produced on the manor by the villeins or serfs who worked the land. Each serf had a personal contract with his lord which spelled out the terms of his tenancy. Generally these contracts were not written out, but were remembered as custom. But as the centuries passed and lord and serf found it difficult to remember what their respective ancestors had agreed to generations before, the lords of the manors began to keep account books which spelled out what was to be expected of each tenant. An example from such an account book follows.

They say that John of Cayworth holds one house and thirty acres of land, and he owes 2s. (shillings) a year at Easter and Michaelmas, and he owes one cock and two hens at Christmas worth 4 s.

And he ought to harrow for two days at the sowing at Lent with one man and his own horse and harrow, the value of the work is 4d. (pence); and he receives from the lord on each day three meals worth 3d.; . . .

And he ought to carry the manure of the lord for two days with one cart using his own two oxen, the work to value 8s., and he receives from the lord three meals of the above value each day; and so the work is worth 3 d. clear.

And he ought to carry wood from the woods of the lord to the manor house for two days in summer with one cart and three of his own animals, the price of the work is 9d.; and he receives from the lord for each day three meals of the above price. And so the work is worth 4d. clear.

And it must be noted that all the aforesaid villeins (serfs) may not marry their daughters nor have their sons tonsured (let them become members of the clergy), nor can they cut down timber growing on the lands they hold, without the personal approval of the bailiff or servant of the lord, and then for building and no other purpose.

And after the death of any one of the aforesaid villeins the lord will have as a heriot (a payment) the best animal that he had; if, however, he had no living beast, the lord will have no heriot, as they say.

The sons or daughters of the aforesaid villeins will give to enter the tenement (the holding) after the death of their ancestors as much as they gave in rent per year.

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* S. R. Scargill-Bird, ed., CUSTUMALS OF BATTLE ABBEY (The Camden Society, 1887), pp. 19-23.

HOW TO RUN A MANOR*

The following selection is taken from Walter of Henley's book on husbandry which was written some time in the thirteenth century. Walter's book is a peculiar combination of traditional precepts mixed with quite modern ideas for farming a large estate. The book is addressed to the owners of the manors, that is the noble lords, and the following is part of what he had to say to them:

This is the treatise on husbandry that a good man once made, whose name was Sir Walter of Henley; and this he made to teach those who have lands and tenants and may not know all the points of husbandry and tilling the soil from which great wealth may come if only those who are ignorant will heed these teachings and then carry them out in practice.

The father, having become old, said to his son, "Dear son, live prudently towards God and the world. With regard to God, think often of the passion and death that Jesus Christ suffered for us, and love Him above all things and fear Him and keep His commandments; with regard to the world, think how a man, if he is fortunate, little by little accumulates wealth and when he become prosperous, then little by little he falls into poverty and finally into wretchedness. Therefore I pray, live within the income which your lands can provide you yearly and nothing beyond that. If you can improve your lands then put the surplus into savings so that if your corn fails, or your cattle die, or a fire should befall you, or some other mishap should occur, then you will have something to help you. If you spend in a year the value received from your lands and any profit you might make in addition, and then one of these mishaps should befall you, you have no way to recover except by borrowing, and he who borrows from another robs himself. . . .It is said in the proverb, 'Who provides for the future enjoys himself in the present.' You see some with great lands and many tenants, and yet are constantly in debt. Why? I will tell you. Because they live without rule or forethought and spend and waste more than their lands pay them each year, and when they have wasted their goods, they can only live from hand to mouth and are always in want. Furthermore, they can make no bargains that shall serve their interests. . . .Dear son, be prudent in your doings and be on your guard against the world, which is so wicked and deceitful.

"Survey your lands and tenements with true and sworn men. First survey your courts, gardens, dove-houses, and out-buildings, to find out what they are worth in yearly income. Then determine how many acres are in your domain and how many acres are planted and what they should be worth in income each year; and how many acres of pasture, and what they are worth each year, and would that you can sell at without loss and destruction and what it is worth yearly; and how much each tenant holds and what services he must render to hold it, and what this is worth yearly. And by the surveyors find out how much wheat you can sow on an acre of land and how much cattle you can have on each manor. By this method you can figure out what your lands are worth, yearly, and by this way you can order your living, as I have said before.

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* From WALTER OF HENLEY'S HUSBANDRY, Elizabeth Lamond, trans. (Longman's Green, New York: 1890) pp. 3-15, passim. (Language simplified and modernized by John M. Good.)

"Some men will tell you that you cannot plough 160 or 180 acres yearly, but I will show that you can. Now you know that fields should be laid out in strips of 660 feet in length and 66 feet wide. Now in ploughing, go thirty-six times around the field to make the furrows narrower and making sowing easier and more productive. In plowing in this way you will have gone nine miles in plowing an acre, and a horse or an ox must be a very poor animal, indeed, that cannot go nine miles in a day. In alloting one-third of your land to lie fallow and a due portion to cattle your tenants should easily be able to plough the remainder of 160 acres. . . .

"In sowing, do not plough large furrows, but little and close together so that the seed may fall evenly. . . .For if you plough large furrows and in harrowing turn the large furrow on top of the seed, the seed cannot grow. But turning small furrows on top of a seed will make it grow. And more seed can grow and your yearly return shall be the greater."

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THE HATTER'S GUILD *

* From H. T. Riley, MEMORIALS OF LONDON AND LONDON LIFE IN THE XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth CENTURIES (London: Longman's Green and Co.,) 239-240.

These ordinances of the Hatter's Guild of London prohibit the selling of hats in London by non-members of the guild, making hats by night, and the making of hats in London by anyone outside the guild. The ordinance also establishes a committee of wardens to oversee the work of the guild.

READING XVII

THE MEDIEVAL SOCIAL SYSTEM

Like the political and economic systems of the Middle Ages, the medieval social system was based largely on tradition. The same values that supported the feudal political system and the manorial economy encouraged the structuring of society into distinct and fairly rigid classes. Those with power gained wealth, and wealth and power brought privileges. Not the least of these privileges was the lord's right to pass power and wealth on to his children. Inheritance helped concentrate wealth and power in the same families generation after generation.

Historians have always been interested in the structure of society, that is, in the way in which the members of a society are grouped, and the manner in which groups relate to one another. They have developed a number of analytical questions to help them analyze social groupings. Among these questions are: What were the major groups in a society, and how were they determined? What privileges and responsibilities were assigned to each group? How, and under what circumstances, did various groups come into contact with one another? How did one become a member of a particular social group? How did a particular social group influence the behavior of its members?

Reading XVII contains selections from medieval documents that cast light on the social system of the Middle Ages. As you examine this evidence, keep the following questions in mind:

1. On the basis of this evidence, what answers can you give to the analytical questions in the introduction?
2. What values underlie the organization of medieval society?
3. Did the medieval social system contain any possibilities for change?

THE ORDERS OF SOCIETY *

This selection from the eleventh century describes the organization of society as it was understood by Adalberon, the Bishop of Laon and an advisor of the French King, Hugh Capet.

* From Adalberon, CARMEN AD ROTHERTUM REGEM, in Robert Boutruche, SEIGNEURIE ET FÉODALITÉ (Paris: 1959) 371-372.

Adalberon states that society is divided into three orders, those who pray--the clergy, those who fight--the nobility--and those who work the land--the peasants.

THE WARRIOR CLASS: DUTIES AND PRIVILEGES *

The foremost political theorist of the Middle Ages was John of Salisbury. In this selection he outlines the duties and privileges of the warrior class.

* From John Dickinson, trans., THE STATESMAN'S BOOK OF JOHN OF SALISBURY, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927) 199-203, passim.

In this section of the Statesman's Book, Salisbury explains the role and privileges of the warrior class, the medieval nobility. He explains that they are the fighters who protect God's earthly city against heathen. For this service to society they are excused from performing menial services.

THE LIFE OF A NOBLEMAN *

The following selection by Jean Froissart describes how an unusually prominent, educated and good nobleman lived his life in the fourteenth century.

Count Gaston Phoebus de Foix, of whom I am now speaking, was at that time fifty-nine years old; and I must say, that although I have seen very many knights, kings, princes, and others, I have never seen any so handsome, either in the form of his limbs and shape, or in countenance, which was fair and ruddy, with grey and amorous eyes, that gave delight whenever he chose to express affection. He was so perfectly formed, one could not praise him too much. He loved earnestly the things he ought to love, and hated those which it was becoming him so to hate. He was a prudent knight, full of enterprise and wisdom. He had never any men of abandoned character with him, reigned prudently, and was constant in his devotions. There were regular nocturnals from the Psalter, prayers from the rituals to the Virgin, to the Holy Ghost, and from the burial service. . . .

In such manner did the count de Foix live. When he quitted his chamber at midnight for supper, twelve servants bore each a large lighted torch before him, which were placed near his table and gave a brilliant light to the apartement. The hall was full of knights and squires; and there were plenty of tables laid out for any person who chose to sup. No one spoke to him at his table, unless he first began a conversation. He commonly ate heartily of poultry, but only the wings and thighs; for in the daytime he neither ate nor drank much. He had great pleasure in hearing minstrels, as he himself was proficient in the science, and made his secretaries sing songs, ballads, and roundelays. He remained at table about two hours; and was pleased when fanciful dishes were served up to him, which having seen, he immediately sent them to the tables of his knights and squires.

In short, everything considered, though I had before been in several courts of kings, dukes, princes, counts, and noble ladies, I was never at one which pleased me more, nor was I ever more delighted with feats of arms, than at this of the count de Foix. There were knights and squires to be seen in every chamber, hall, and court, going backwards and forwards, and conversing on arms and amours. Everything honourable was there to be found. . . .

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* From Thomas Johnes, FROISSART'S CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, AND THE ADJOINING COUNTRIES, London, 1857, vol. ii, pp. 94-95.

THE PRIVILEGES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CLERGY *

The following extract from a book by Richard of Bury, the Bishop of Durham, gives an exalted view of the clergy. He explains what privileges and responsibilities fall upon the priests and bishops and explains why the clergy is entitled to them.

You (the clergy) are a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy race; you are a peculiar people chosen into the work of God; you are priests and ministers of God, nay, you are called the very Church of God,--laymen cannot claim this distinction. You, being better than laymen, sing psalms and hymns in the chancel and, serving the altar and living by the altar, make the true body of Christ; wherein God himself has honored you not only above the laymen, but even a little higher than the angels. . . .You give aid to the poor in the name of the Crucified One, for it is required of Christ's stewards that a man be found faithful. You are shepherds of the Lord's flock, . . .and your sheep are bound to repay you with milk and wool.

By what right do you claim these rights and responsibilities, O Priests? Always remember, we pray, that these liberties and privileges are bestowed on you because you have learned how to read the Holy Scriptures. In truth, taught by the Scriptures, which are the containers of wisdom and intellect, you yourself ascend to the exalted position of teacher, and are called by laymen, Rabbi (which means "teacher" in Hebrew). By reading the Scriptures and the books you become marvelous in the eyes of laymen, light great lights in the world, and possess the dignities of the Church according to your various stations. Because you can read you derive the benefit of clergy, for if you read but a single line you are granted the right to be heard by church courts rather than by those of the laymen; for it is written, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm;" and he who has rashly touched them let him, by his own blow, be smitten violently with the wound of a curse.

* From Richard of Bury, PHILOBIBLON, in James Harvey Robinson, READINGS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY (Ginn and Co., Boston: 1904), pp. 359-60. (Language modernized and simplified by John M. Good.)

GRANTING A FIEF TO A BISHOP *

The following legal document taken from France in the eleventh century cast light on additional privileges and responsibilities given to bishops.

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, Amen. I, Louis, by the grace of God king of the French, make known to all present as well as to come, that at Mante, in our presence, Count Henry of Champagne conceded the fief of Savigny to Bartholomew, bishop of Beauvais, and his successors. And for that fief the said bishop has made promise and engagement for one knight, and justice and service to Count Henry; and he has also agreed that the bishops who shall come after him will do likewise. In order that this may be understood and known to posterity, we have caused the present charter to be corroborated by our seal.

THE PEASANT CLASS**

The following selection from John of Salisbury's STATESMAN'S BOOK explains the position of the serf and the peasant in medieval society. In this political treatise, John of Salisbury compared the state with the human body. The soul, he said, was the Church and the priests, the head was the Prince, the arms were the knights or soldiers, and the peasants were the feet.

In this selection, John of Salisbury indicates that the peasant class perform the greatest of all services in the Commonwealth - the feeding, sheltering and clothing of society. In return, the superiors of the peasants owe the peasants service, namely protecting their lands and homes.

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* From John Dickinson, trans. THE STATESMAN'S BOOK OF JOHN OF SALISBURY, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927) 243-244.

THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF A SERF *

John of Salisbury's description of the peasant's place in the commonwealth paints an idealized picture of mutual cooperation between lord and serf. In fact, the legal status of the serf, much more than Salisbury's theory, defined the privileges and responsibilities of serfdom. The following extract explains this legal status.

There are many modes by which a Man, in a state of Villenage[1], may acquire his freedom. Thus if his Lord, being desirous of emancipating him, releases him, as well from all his own claims, as those of the Lord's Heirs: or, if the Lord give or sell him to another, for the purpose of liberating him. It must, however, be observed, that no one in a state of Villenage can purchase his freedom with his own Money; for, in such case, he may, according to the Law and Custom of the Realm, be again recalled by his Lord to a state of Villenage, all the Chattels of a Villein-born being understood as so absolutely in the power of his Lord, as to preclude the former, at least with his own Money, and as against his Lord, from redeeming himself from Villenage. But, if a stranger with his own Money purchase the Villein's freedom, the Villein may for ever after maintain his freedom against his Lord, who has sold him. When any one has released a Villein, from all right which he, or his Heirs, could claim in him, or has sold him to a stranger, the Villein who has been thus enfranchised may for ever after defend his freedom, as well against the Lord Himself, as his Heirs; whilst he can prove the fact in Court, either by a Charter, or by any other lawful means. And the question may even be decided by the Duel, if any one deny, that the party has been liberated from his state of Villenage, and, there by a proper Witness, who, having both seen and heard the very fact of Enfranchisement, is ready to prove his freedom in Court.

It should here be remarked, that a man may enfranchise his Villein-born, so far as the consequences affect the persons of himself, or his Heirs, but not as they apply to others. Because, if a man born a Villein, but thus rendered free, should be produced in Court, to make proof against a stranger, or to wage his Law, he may be justly precluded, if it be objected against him, and proved in Court, that he was born in a state of Villenage, although his condition was such that he had been Knighted subsequently to his being enfranchised. If a Villein-born peacably remain during a year and a day in any privileged Town,[2] so that he be received in their community or Guild as a Citizen, he shall from such circumstances be freed from Villenage.

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* Ranulf de Glanvill, *Tractatus de legibus et consuetudinibus regni Angliae*, v, 5. John Beames, A TRANSLATION OF GLANVILLE, Washington, 1900, pp. 88-90. Edited by J. H. Beale.

[1] The French word for serfdom; *villein* is the old French word for serf.

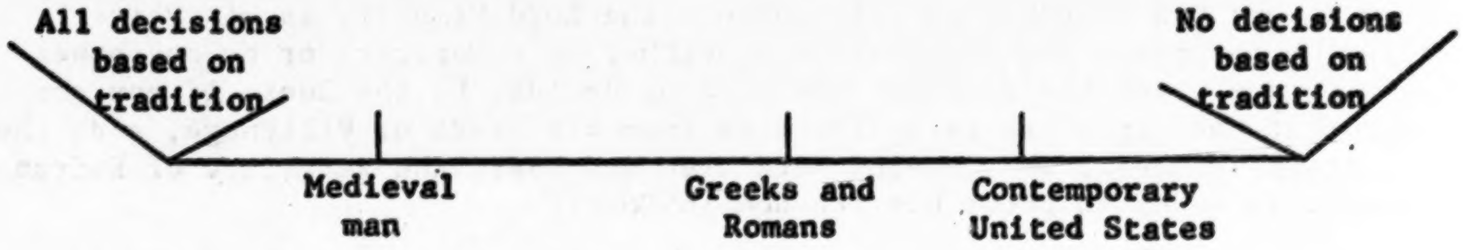
[2] I.e., a town that had franchises by prescription or charter.

READING XVIII

TRADITIONAL EUROPEAN SOCIETY

Many historians and social scientists distinguish between two general models of society: traditional and innovative. In a model traditional society, political, economic, and social systems would be organized and operated according to the society's long accepted folkways and mores. A model innovative society, on the other hand, would constantly develop new practices in its political, economic, and social systems. No society, however, is completely traditional or completely innovative. All traditional societies encounter at times circumstances which cause them to change their old ways of doing things while innovative societies always pattern some of their institutions and practices on the proven ways of the past.

Since no societies are purely traditional or entirely innovative, we can probably think about them most accurately if we imagine each society as falling in a particular place along a spectrum. Suppose we imagine at one extreme a society in which all decisions are made according to customs inherited from the past. On the other end of the spectrum, we can imagine a society in which all decisions are made as the result of a decision-making process in which folkways and mores play no part. We might represent these situations graphically as follows:


All decisions based on tradition
No decisions based on tradition
Medieval man
Greeks and Romans
Contemporary United States

Of the three societies we have studied so far, Greece and Rome occupied positions near the right hand side of the spectrum, as the illustration above indicates. Though both had established mores and folkways, both also developed a host of new patterns, values, institutions and methods to cope with their changing environment. Still, neither society was as innovative as modern United States. The Greeks developed their humanistic values, a sharp break with tradition, and based their democratic political system and fluid social structure on those values. The Romans constantly changed their institutions to meet the demands of their ever expanding empire. Ultimately they changed much of their value system in response to the new creed of Christianity. These two societies were responsible for some of the first major innovations in the western world. These innovations ultimately became part of western traditions.

The society of medieval Europe, on the other hand, was more traditional. By the eighth century after Christ, the innovations of the Greeks, Romans and Christians had hardened into traditional values, mores, and folkways. As a

result, by the Middle Ages Europeans had established comparatively static political, social, and economic systems despite the fact that in all three of these areas marked changes took place over the centuries.

The political system, though its forms varied from place to place and though it often changed in minor ways to meet new challenges, was governed largely by tradition. Leaders were recruited from the same families or social classes, largely because political power was passed down from father to son. Judicial decisions were made on the basis of traditional tests or ordeals. If accused of a falsehood, a medieval knight had to meet an ordeal by fire. A fire was set burning and the knight was compelled to walk through it. If he came out uninjured it was assumed he was telling the truth. On the other hand, if he was severely burned, the spectators assumed that he had lied.

Administrative decisions were also made largely on the basis of custom. For example, a knight was required to serve his lord for only forty days and forty nights. Afterwards he was free to go home. A decision to go to war depended partly on the hope of winning before the knight's term of service was over. Legislative decisions were rarely made, for there were only rare instances when the medieval ruler felt that new laws that applied to all subjects were needed. Charlemagne, for instance, never made a law that affected all of his people. Rather he decided what each individual vassal was supposed to do. It never occurred to him to make a law about vassalage that would apply to all of his nobles. Even the Magna Charta, the recognized cornerstone of constitutional government, is not so much a statement of lofty principles as a catalogue of specific restrictions on what King John could or could not do.

The medieval economic system was also governed largely by tradition. The crops produced in Europe had been grown in the same way for centuries from the same soil that the medieval serf tilled. In an era in which modern technology adds invention to invention and a newer and better product is an everyday occurrence, it seems difficult to conceive of an age in which few new items were produced. But such was the case in the Middle Ages. For centuries the same products - wheat, millet, beans - were cultivated on European manors. The same articles were produced by the small manufacturers or artisans - armor, leather goods, weapons. Moreover, these products were produced in roughly the same way. The peasant used the same type of seeds that his forefathers had used and he rotated the planting of his crops in three separate fields as his ancestors in the Roman Empire had done. Wealth, too, was divided about as it had been apportioned for generations. The Church fathers and the knights received the greater share while the peasant received more meager portions. In an economy that depended primarily on agriculture rather than commerce, wealthy men were measured not by how much money they had in the bank but how much land they owned. The church and the lord owned the land while the peasant usually did not. Since land was passed from one generation to the next, the same classes retained control of what wealth there was. They controlled the political system and hence, the economy.

Tradition was also the major basis of the medieval social system. The various social groups or classes were deeply embedded in European traditions. The warrior class - the nobles - and the religious leaders - the bishops and abbots - had been the dominating classes since the fall of Rome. They gained stature because they were needed to protect Europeans from attack and to conduct worship. They maintained their place because they controlled the political and economic systems. As a result they were given the greatest privileges in the society: they did not have to do menial labor, they were given most of the fruits of the land, and they were allowed great freedom. But at the same time they bore a heavy responsiblity. The warriors had to risk their lives to protect European society from marauding Norsemen and religiously inspired Moslems. The clergy had to see that God's will was done on earth and see that the members of their flock were admitted to the Kingdom of God.

The less privileged, the serfs, also bore a heavy burden. They had to see that the society stayed fed and clothed. Though they lacked many privileges, they were given certain rights. For example, they were protected by feudal law and the church from arbitrary action on the part of their lord. Though the serf was bound to the soil and could not leave it, the lord could not take his land away without going through prescribed legal channels.

On the whole the society of medieval Europe was close to the traditional end of the spectrum. Its political system, its economy, and its social structure were based primarily upon the ways of the past. Yet this traditional way of life gave way to our modern innovative society. In their early history the non-western cultures of Asia and Africa had also been highly innovative, but like Europe, they slipped into traditionalism. But while Europe awakened during the late Middle Ages, the non-western world still clung to their hardened "cake of custom." Only in the twentieth century have the cultures of Asia and Africa begun to make giant strides toward the innovative end of the spectrum.

The traditional culture of the Middle Ages contained within it the seeds of our modern innovative society. Tradition, entrenched though it was, existed side by side with the creative genius from which our modern world has sprung. What caused Europe to become the first innovative society of modern times? Why was it not China or India or Egypt, each with its own proud heritage, that made the first halting step toward change?

The answers to these questions are not easy to determine, but a tentative explanation can be constructed from the evidence available. The evidence suggests that seeds of innovation did exist within the traditional society of medieval Europe. Change is brought about in two ways. An invention from within a society can produce far reaching innovation, or an idea or an implement diffused from another culture can trigger changes. In the medieval world, changes came as a result of both stimuli. Medieval man both invented new ideas and techniques, and learned them from other cultures.

Within the political system a chance for innovation emerged out of competition for positions of leadership. Three major groups competed for political power throughout the Middle Ages: the kings, the nobles, and the churchmen. Each of these groups had different objectives. The kings wished to unify national states, obtain armies under their own control, and increase their revenues and their power. The nobles were anxious in most cases to reduce the power of their monarchs and to gain more control of the political system. The churchmen, and particularly the Pope, anxious to meet the spiritual needs of Christians, found themselves so embroiled in politics that they often sought political power in secular as well as in religious affairs. In the later Middle Ages, merchants and petty manufacturers entered the competition for political power. The contest between these four groups of leaders provided many opportunities for new ideas and new institutions to emerge.

In France, the King emerged triumphant over both the nobles and the Church. Under attack from English kings, the French monarchs unified their realms and broke the power of their nobles. For a time, the French king also won control of the Pope. On the whole, he managed throughout the period to prevent the Pope from winning a key role in secular affairs in France. In England, the king emerged as monarch of a unified realm, but the power of the nobles, represented in Parliament, was never broken and was soon shared with commoners. These groups, who controlled funds the King needed for his various enterprises, pressed for changes in all areas of British society. The church played a more important role in the affairs of both the Germanies and the Italian states. Here too, however, the competition for political power opened the way to innovation.

The separation of secular and religious authority in western Europe removed many of the religious prohibitions which limited change in other cultures. When political leaders make religious considerations paramount in their decision making, they are unlikely to decide matters on the basis of how best to meet changing world conditions. They are much more likely to make decisions which will preserve the doctrines of the faith, regardless of whether or not the decision meets a practical earthly need. Since the Pope did not make most of the secular decisions and since the effective rulers would more readily consider the specific earthly needs of the moment, the chance for innovation was present.

The opportunity for change became more pronounced in the late Middle Ages. When the invasions of the Moslems, Magyars, and Norsemen came to a halt, peasants, priests, and nobles no longer needed to withdraw into feudal castles. Since medieval monarchs no longer needed their kingdoms, they had an opportunity to change the basis of their power. Medieval kings began to outfit commoners with long bows and thereby developed an army that was dependent solely upon them. The army made up of ordinary citizens was far more reliable than an army of strong nobles who were independent of the king. This development paved the way for the emergence of the unified national state, the characteristic political institution of the modern western world.

The economic system of the Middle Ages, rooted as it was in tradition, also contained the first sprouts of innovation. Beleagured as Europe was with repeated invasion and constant warfare, the thriving trade of the old Roman Empire never ceased completely. Historians and archeologists have uncovered evidence that papyrus and spices from the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea found their way into western Europe. Furthermore, technological innovations that had been made in the steppes of central Asia were diffused to the West. Medieval Europeans, trading with the Asian tribes of the steppes, learned of an improved plough which more easily broke the sod, the horse collar which allowed horses to do the work that oxen once had done, the harness which made it possible for two horses to work side by side, and the horse shoe which kept the horses fit for labor.

And medieval Europeans contributed their own inventions. In the area of mechanics, westerners developed the crank. Neither the Romans nor the Greeks had known of this device. The crank is essential for changing reciprocal motion (that is, motion going back and forth in a straight line) into rotary motion. The importance of this invention can be seen in the modern automobile. The source of power, the piston, moves by reciprocal motion, back and forth. But the wheels of the automobile move in rotary motion. The crank harnesses the reciprocal motion of the piston to the rotary motion of the wheels. Medieval men also developed new techniques of building. The Gothic cathedral, which was the hallmark of the age, could not have been built without the creation of the pointed arch and the flying buttress.

At least as important as new technology to change in the Middle Ages was the emergence of a new economic institution, the market. Spurred by increasing trade, the growth of towns, the effect of the Crusades, and the growth of unified national states which dissolved barriers to trade, more and more economic transactions came to be governed by the law of supply and demand. This development helped to dissolve the traditional bonds which had held the medieval economic system together. Men began to pay their dues in money rather than in kind. Serfs escaped to the city and became free men after they had lived there a year. Ownership of land lost its place as the sole measure of wealth. As a result, social mobility increased. The market economy may be one of the most fruitful inventions in the history of mankind. Its roots extend well back into the Middle Ages.

Though the medieval social structure was highly stratified with a place for everyone, it was possible for a man to change his social status. Most medieval men were born in a social class and remained in it throughout their lives. But some men escaped the class into which they had been born and earned their way into another. The most common route out of the peasant class was through the church. Anyone in medieval Europe was eligible to become a priest or a monk by learning the scriptures and the doctrines of the church. All that was necessary was that the would-be clergyman get an education. From the priesthood or the monastery it was possible for a man to rise in the hierarchy of the church.

Both the political and the economic systems of the later Middle Ages provided additional ways to escape from the position into which a man was born. Commoners sometimes were knighted for distinguished service to their lords. Other commoners who had learned to read and write could rise rapidly through the crude civil service developing around Europe's new monarchs. Much larger numbers of men rose a step or two up the social ladder by acquiring wealth through trade or by escaping from a manor to a town. By the end of the Middle Ages, many fewer men were destined to live out their lives in their father's social position with no chance of escaping from it. A more fluid social system spelled the inevitable end of a society dominated by a tradition that each son trod only in his father's footsteps.

Finally, the very nature of Christianity itself encouraged innovation. Unlike most religions, Christianity did not lay down a host of specific rules to regulate daily life. Islam, Hinduism, Confucianism and the other great religions of the world contain scores of specific requirements about what their followers may eat and wear, where they may work, when they must pray, and when they must fast. Such specific requirements affect every area of human behavior and make innovation exceedingly difficult. Christianity, with its relatively few regulations, gave its believers wide latitude in secular affairs. This relative lack of regulation meant that Christians were able to experiment much more freely than followers of other religions.

Furthermore, the Roman Church itself was quite open to new ideas. The Church did persecute and even fought wars against those it believed to be heretics. But medieval churchmen were also responsible for developing the arts and sciences of the day. The medieval theologian, St. Thomas Aquinas, successfully synthesized the ideas ofAristotle with Catholic theology when the writings of the Greek philosopher were rediscovered by the West. The greatest scientist of the Middle Ages was the churchman Roger Bacon. Though the Church placed its greatest trust in the revealed word of God contained in the Holy Scriptures, it also admitted reason as a legitimate approach to truth, particularly to truths about the physical and secular world.

Though the Middle Ages was more a traditional than an innovative society, it still was not unchanging. More than any other society that existed at the same time, medieval culture was open to innovation. The changes that were made in these so-called "Dark Ages" established the foundation on which our modern society is based.

SECTION II

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY - 1300 A.D. to 1800 A.D.

FROM TRADITION TO INNOVATION

In the Middle Ages changes did not take place at a rapid rate. Medieval society was more traditional than innovative; political and economic decisions and social structure were based primarily on the proven ways of the past. Toward the end of the era, however, the pace of change began to quicken. New political systems began to emerge, the traditional agrarian economy began to give way to a more innovative commercial economy, and the social structure gradually became more fluid. These changes were not pronounced and they were sporadic. Changes taking place in the British Isles were different from the changes taking place in Italy. Gradually the rate of change increased. Out of the Middle Ages developed the first elements of our modern society which places a high premium on adaptability and innovation. The next eight units will provide you with evidence by which you can determine how and why these changes came about.

UNIT V
THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

Stating the Issue

The cathedral dominated the medieval town. Each spire and buttress swept the eye to the heavens to emphasize to man his eventual destiny. The vast interior of the cathedral was called a nave, a word which derived from the Latin for boat. To medieval man this language symbolized that the church was a ship to help men cross life's tempestuous seas to their heavenly reward. In the Middle Ages men's lives focused mainly upon religion and the hereafter.

In 1492, an Italian mariner named Cristoforo Colombo launched three tiny ships on the face of the broad, unknown Atlantic. His goal was very much of this world: the riches of the Indies. His guide was not the word of God but man-made instruments and charts. His ships, instead of being symbols like the nave of the cathedral, were small wooden sailing vessels crowded with men and supplies. Columbus was of a new age; the Renaissance had begun.

What caused this dramatic period of European history to develop? The Renaissance covers several centuries. Its roots stretch well back into the Middle Ages when a number of forces working together began to transform traditional society. In this unit, we will be concerned with two major issues, the causes of the Renaissance and the major characteristics of Renaissance society. As you read, keep the following questions in mind: What caused the Renaissance? What were the personal characteristics of typical Renaissance men? What did these men value? How should a historian investigate these questions?

READING XIX

THE EMERGENCE OF THE RENAISSANCE

The Renaissance began in Italy sometime during the late Middle Ages. Like other periods of history, this one cannot be given a precise starting date. The characteristics of Renaissance society and the activities typical of Renaissance man developed slowly and at different rates of speed in different cities. The excerpts in Reading XIX present evidence which may reveal the reasons for the emergence of this dramatic period in western history.

The interpretation which a student makes of this unit of work will result partly from two major causes working together. One will be the selection of source materials by the authors of this book. If they chose "representative" materials, then a student will have a chance to develop an "unbiased" account. If their selection of materials was unrepresentative, however, the interpretation will be unrepresentative in turn. The second will be the frame of reference of the student. As we have already learned, people often perceive events in keeping with their language, their culture, or their opinion of the nature of history. Study questions precede each excerpt from source materials in this reading. Keep them in mind as you read.

GENOA IN 1432

The document which follows is a translation of a letter written in 1432 by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini who later became Pope Pius II. The letter describes the city of Genoa and the life of her citizens. 1/

1. How would you compare life in Genoa with life on a medieval manor?
2. How would you define the frame of reference of this future Pope?

1/ From Ferdinand Schevill, THE FIRST CENTURY OF ITALIAN HUMANISM, New York: F. S. Crofts & Co.: 1928) 51-53.

Piccolomini begins his description of Genoa by stating that it is "a city with no equal anywhere on earth." He goes on to describe the merchant activity, the characteristics of the men and women, the customs of the society, and the dwellings of the inhabitants.

THE CHRONICLE OF GIOVANNI VILLANI (1336-1338)*

Milan, Genoa, Venice and Florence were the four most important commercial and industrial centers in Europe during the late Middle Ages. Venice never disappeared during the so-called Dark Ages; the other three declined seriously after the fall of Rome but began to revive in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Florence had the most remarkable history of all. In a mere century-and-a-half she rose to the heights of economic, political and artistic excellence. The authenticity of the following account of the city by Giovanni Villani has been well established.

1. What was the origin of the economic strength of Florence?
2. How large a city was it? What were the people like? What was the relationship between the economic life and the remainder of the culture?

. . .We find after careful investigation that in this period there were in Florence about 25,000 men from the ages of fifteen to seventy fit to bear arms, all citizens. . . .From the amount of bread constantly needed for the city, it was estimated that in Florence there were some 90,000 mouths divided among men, women, and children, as can readily be grasped (from what we shall say) later; and it was reckoned that in the city there were already about 1,500 foreigners, transients, and soldiers, not including in the total the citizens who were clerics and cloistered monks and nuns, of whom we shall speak later. It was reckoned that in this period there were some 80,000 men in the territory and district of Florence. From the rector who baptized the infants--since he deposited a black bean for every male baptized in San Giovanni and a white bean for every female in order to ascertain their number--we find that at this period there were from 5,500 to 6,000 baptisms every year, the males usually outnumbering the females by 300 to 500. We find that the boys and girls learning to read (numbered) from 8,000 to 10,000, the children learning the abacus and algorism from 1,000 to 1,200, and those learning grammar and logic in four large schools from 550 to 600.

The workshops of the ARTE DELLA LANA (guild of wool merchants) were 200 or more, and they made from 70,000 to 80,000 pieces of cloth, which were worth more than 1,200,000 gold florins. And a good third (of this sum) remained in the land as (the reward) of labor, without counting the profit of the entrepreneurs. And more than 30,000 persons lived by it. (To be sure) we find that some thirty years earlier there were 300 workshops or thereabouts, and they made more than 100,000 pieces of cloth yearly; but these cloths were coarser and one half less valuable, because at that time English wool was not imported and they did not know, as they did later, how to work it.

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* Translated by Edwin Fenton.

The FONDACHI of the ARTE DI CALIMALA (guild of importers, refinishers, and sellers of Transalpine cloth), dealing in French and Transalpine cloth, were some twenty, and they imported yearly more than 10,000 pieces of cloth, worth 300,000 gold florins. And all these were sold in Florence, without counting those which were reexported from Florence.

The banks of money-changers were about eighty. The gold coins which were struck amounted to some 350,000 gold florins and at times 400,000 (yearly). And as for deniers of four petty each, about 20,000 pounds of them were struck yearly.

Merchants and mercers were a large number; the shops of shoemakers, slipper makers, and wooden-shoe makers were so numerous they could not be counted. There were some three hundred persons and more who went to do business out of Florence, and (so did) many other masters in many crafts, and stone and carpentry masters.

There were then in Florence 146 bakeries. And from the (amount of the) tax on grinding and through (information furnished by) the bakers we find that the city within the walls needed 140 MOGGIA of grain every day. By this one can estimate how much was needed yearly, not to mention the fact that the larger part of the rich, noble, and well-to-do citizens with their families spent four months a year in the country, and some of them a still longer period.

. . .(Florence) within the walls was well built, with many beautiful houses, and at that period people kept building with improved techniques to obtain comfort and richness by importing designs of every kind of improvement. (They built) parish churches of friars of every order, and splendid monasteries. And besides this, there was no citizen, whether commoner or magnate, who had not built or was not building in the country a large and rich estate with a very costly mansion and with fine buildings, much better than those in the city--and in this they all were committing sin, and they were called crazy on account of their wild expenses. And yet, this was such a wonderful sight that when foreigners, not accustomed to (cities like) Florence, came from abroad, they usually believed that all of the costly buildings and beautiful palaces which surrounded the city for three miles were part of the city in the manner of Rome--not to mention the costly palaces with towers, courts, and walled gardens farther distant, which would have been called castles in any other country. To sum up, it was estimated that within a six-mile radius around the city there were more than twice as many rich and noble mansions as in Florence.

COSIMO DE MEDICI: RENAISSANCE DESPOT *

The Medici of Florence became one of the most notable families of Europe in the fifteenth century. The family fortune was made in trade, manufacturing and banking, beginning in the fourteenth century. In 1429, Cosimo de Medici fell heir to a vast store of wealth at the age of forty. Cosimo's grandson was Lorenzo the Magnificent; among his other descendants were two popes and two queens of France.

Cosimo was a devoted businessman. He increased the family fortunes through loans to the popes and to kings. For thirty years he was the dominant figure in Florence, having complete control of the city although he held no public office. A notable patron of the arts, Cosimo helped to set the tone which was soon to make Florence famous forever.

1. What was the relationship between wealth and political power in fifteenth century Florence?
2. What did Cosimo use his wealth and political power for?

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* From Vespasiano da Bisticci, THE VESPASIANO MEMOIRES, William George and Emily Waters, trans. (New York: Dial Press, 1926) 213-231 passim.

This selection describes the character of Cosimo de Medici and his activities. Bisticci devotes his attention to de Medici's attempt to collect a worthy library and to patronize a number of artists. He also describes de Medici's political savvy in ruling Florence.

READING XX

AN ARTIST OF THE RENAISSANCE

Benvenuto Cellini--goldsmith, sculptor, lover, braggard, writer--has left us in his autobiography one of the best known works of the Italian Renaissance. Through his words we can see much of Renaissance culture come to life. Cellini lived from 1500 to 1571 at the very height of the artistic outpouring for which the Renaissance is so well known. The following passages are all taken from the AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

1. **Who were Cellini's patrons? What were they interested in?**
2. **What were the sources of inspiration for Cellini's artistic works?**
3. **What sorts of things interested Cellini? Was he a well-rounded individual? Did he seem to care about what his contemporaries thought of him? About the judgment of history?**
4. **By what criteria did Cellini criticize Bandinello's statue? Would a medieval man use the same criteria?**

*** From THE LIFE OF BENVENUTO CELLINI, (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1961) 86-338 passim.**

The passages from the famous AUTOBIOGRAPHY of a Renaissance artist tell of Cellini's commission to design a button for the Pope, to design a coin for the Pope, and his encounter with Bandinello over the merits of the latter's statue of Hercules.

READING XXI

THREE RENAISSANCE WRITERS

Most high school students associate the Renaissance with great painters, sculptors and architects. Of course they are correct. But the Renaissance should also be remembered for its great contributions to western thought. Like many scholars during the Middle Ages, the men of the Renaissance rediscovered the great Greek and Roman classics, copied them, and translated them into the languages of the day. They also wrote great original works which have in turn become classics of their own.

The learned men of this period called themselves humanists from the word humanista, a slang term coined by students for teachers of grammar, rhetoric and other humane studies. The humanists were classical scholars. They learned Greek, Latin and Arabic in order to study the classics in their original languages. They began to write in these languages and to publish learned treatises on the works of the ancients. They also wrote poems and other works in the vernacular.

The four excerpts in Reading XXI were written by three great Renaissance scholars. Study questions precede each excerpt. Think about them as you read.

TWO ASPECTS OF PETRARCH *

The two readings below represent the work of the humanists at its best. They are from the pen of Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374), one of the greatest of the humanists.

1. **What does Petrarch think of the classics?**
2. **The poems addressed to Laura now seem far more significant to literary scholars than Petrarch's work with the classics. What attitudes are revealed here? How would you compare Petrarch's attitudes with those of medieval thinkers?**

*** From J. H. Robinson and H. W. Rolfe, PETRARCH, THE FIRST MODERN SCHOLAR AND MAN OF LETTERS, (New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1914) IV, 170; and Raymond Phineas Stearns, PAGEANT OF EUROPE (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961) 11.**

The first selection from Petrarch is one of his letters praising a translation of Cicero. Petrarch admits unabashed admiration for the great Latin orator. The second selection is one of the poet's famous sonnets to Laura.

THE IDEAL OF THE WELL-ROUNDED MAN

The well-rounded man represents the ideal of the Renaissance. Our best portrait of an ideal Renaissance type was written by Baldassare Castiglione in a book called THE COURTIER, published in 1528. In this volume Castiglione revived the classical ideal of the well-rounded man and combined him with modern ideas of the humanities and a liberal education.

1. What should an ideal man be able to do? How does this ideal compare with the ideal of the Middle Ages?
2. Is the ideal man mainly responsible for developing his personal qualities or should he concentrate on service to his fellow man?

"For this evening's game let us select someone from the company and give him the job of portraying a perfect Courtier, explaining all the conditions and special qualities that a Courtier must have; if he mentions something that is not correct, anyone may contradict him."

. . .Since one cannot spend all his time in every exercise and since repetition is tiresome, we must always vary our life with various occupations. For this reason I would have our Courtier sometimes take part in quieter and more peaceful exercises, and in order to escape envy and to seem agreeable to everyone, let him do what others do, yet never departing from praiseworthy deeds, and governing himself with that good judgment which will keep him from all foolishness; but let him laugh, joke, banter, frolic and dance, but in such a way that he shall always appear genial and discreet, and that everything he may do or say shall be stamped with grace. . . ."

"I would have him accomplished in letters, at least in those studies which are called the humanities, and able to speak and understand not only the Latin language but also the Greek. Let him know the poets, and the orators and the historians. Let him be proficient in writing, verse, and prose, especially in this vulgar tongue of ours; for besides the enjoyment he will find in it, he will never lack agreeable entertainment with the ladies, who are usually fond of such things. If other jobs or lack of study prevent his reaching such perfection, let him be careful to suppress his work so that others may not laugh at him, and let him show them only to a friend whom he can trust: because at least the exercise will enable him to judge the work of others."

* From Baldassare Castiglione, THE BOOK OF THE COURTIER, translated by Edwin Fenton

"My lords, you must know that I am not content with the Courtier unless he is also a musician, and besides being able to understand and read notes, he must be able to play different instruments. For music is the best relaxation or medicine for the troubled spirit and most becoming and praiseworthy in time of leisure and especially in the courts, where besides the relief from boredom that music gives us, many things are done to please the ladies, whose tender and gentle spirit is easily affected by harmony and filled with sweetness. Thus, it is no surprise, that in ancient and modern times, musicians have always been favored and have found refreshing spiritual food in music. . . ."

"I wish to discuss another matter, which I think is very important and therefore think our Courtier should not overlook: and this is to know how to draw and to know the art of painting.

Do not be surprised that I want this art, which today seems to be that of an artisan and not for a gentleman; I remember having read that the ancients, especially in Greece, had the boys of noble birth study painting in school as an honorable and necessary thing and it was recognized as the first of the liberal arts, while at the same time by public edict forbidden to slaves. Among the Romans, too, it was held in highest honor. . . .

And truly one who does not honor this art seems unreasonable to me, for this universal fabric that we see--with the vast heaven so richly adorned with shining stars and in the middle the earth circled by seas, varied with mountains, valleys and rivers and decorated with so many different trees, beautiful flowers and grasses--may be said to be a great and noble picture, composed by the hand of nature and of God; and whoever is able to imitate it, seems to me to deserve great praise: nor can it be imitated without the knowledge of many things, as he who tries well knows. . . .

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THE PRACTICAL POLITICIAN *

Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) taught the world a lesson in practical politics. A Florentine lawyer, he had traveled widely in the employ of the government of his city. Everywhere he observed politics as they were actually practiced. Exiled from his native city in a change of administration, he wrote THE PRINCE as a guidebook to a despot in order to try to gain favor and to set forth the techniques by which a prince might be able to unite all of Italy. Like other humanists, Machiavelli had read widely, and he drew many of his examples from the classics as well as from his keen observations of contemporary life.

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* From Niccolò Machiavelli, THE PRINCE, G. C. Sansoni ed., (Florence, 1899) Edwin Fenton, trans.

1. How closely should a prince adhere to the moral teachings of the church?
2. What attitudes of life are revealed in this passage?
3. How would a medieval king react to Machiavelli's advice?

". . .It is a good thing to be considered generous. But if liberality is not openly displayed for all to see, no one will ever hear about it, and under these circumstances a person would soon become known as a miser. For this reason many men who wish to earn a reputation for liberality depend upon lavish displays or costly shows which are easily seen. If a prince does this, he is likely to spend most of his money on display, and if he wishes to keep his reputation for liberality he will have to impose heavy taxes and do everything possible to obtain more funds. This course of action will make his subjects begin to hate him; they will not even respect him because he will be poor. His liberality will have injured many and benefited only a few. . . .For these reasons a prince must not worry if he becomes known as a miser. . . .

"Is it better to be loved more than feared or feared more than loved? Ideally, one ought to be both feared and loved, but it is difficult for the two sentiments to go together. If one of the two must be sacrificed, it is much safer to be feared than loved. In general men are ungrateful, dishonest, cowardly, and covetous. As long as you help them, they will do your bidding. They will offer you their blood, their goods, their lives, and their children when it appears that you will not need to take them up on the offer. But when you try to collect, they often go back on their word. If a prince has relied solely on the good faith of others, he will be ruined. Men are less afraid to offend a prince they love than one they fear. . . .

". . .I conclude, therefore, with regard to being feared or loved that men have control of their love but the prince controls fear. The wise prince will rely on what he can control and not on what is in the control of others. He must be careful, however, not to make men hate him.

"Everyone knows that it is a good thing for a prince to keep his word and live a faithful life. The history of our own times shows, however, that those princes who have done great things have had little regard for keeping faith. . . .a successful prince must imitate both the fox and the lion, for the lion cannot protect himself from traps, and the fox cannot defend himself from wolves. He must, therefore, be at the same time a fox to recognize traps, and a lion to frighten off wolves. . . .A prince ought not to keep his word when doing so would go against his best interest, and when the reasons which originally motivated him no longer exist. If men were all good, this rule would not be a sound one. But because they are bad and would not honor their word to the prince, he is not bound to keep faith with them. . . .

". . .It is not at all necessary for a prince to have all the good qualities which I have named, but it is necessary to seem to have them. I will even go so far as to say that to actually have these qualities and to be guided by them always is dangerous, but to appear to possess them is useful. Thus it is well to seem merciful, faithful, sincere, religious, and also to be so. But a prince must always be ready to embrace the opposite qualities if the occasion demands it. New princes particularly are unable to live by these fine qualities. They are often obliged, in order to maintain their position, to act against faith, against charity, against humanity, and against religion. A prince must be ready to shift with the wind as the ups and downs of fortune dictate. He should not deviate from what is good if he can avoid it, but he should be ready and able to do evil when it is necessary. . . .

"I conclude, then, that if fortune varies and men remain fixed in their ways, they will be successful so long as these ways fit the circumstances of the moment, but when the times call for other tactics they will fail. I certainly think that it is better to be impetuous than cautious, for fortune is a woman, and it is necessary, if you wish to master her, to conquer her by force. It can be seen that she lets herself be overcome by the bold rather than by those who proceed coldly. And therefore, like a woman, she is always a friend to the young, because they are less cautious, more fierce, and master her with greater audacity."

READING XXII

THE RENAISSANCE

At the end of the Middle Ages a combination of economic, political and social changes brought about a great outburst of intellectual and artistic activity. Historians are unable to precisely identify this period of history which we call the Renaissance. Some aspects of renaissance life were clear by 1250; others did not emerge until the sixteenth century. Moreover, the emphasis in renaissance life differed from one place to another. The Renaissance began in Italy where it was essentially secular and spread to northern Europe where religion played a more important role. Although the word renaissance means rebirth and refers to the revival of classical knowledge, there was much in it that was entirely new. Everywhere, however, the age of the Renaissance marked the beginning of the transition from a rural agrarian economy to an urban commercial society typical of the modern world. The development of such a complicated historical period cannot be explained easily.

Major historical trends never result from only one cause. A number of events working together helped to bring about the triumph of Alexander the Great over the Greeks; another complex group of causes produced the fall of the Roman Empire. So it was with the Renaissance. A whole host of developments covering several centuries set the stage for the great outburst of intellectual and artistic activity which swept Italy. Major changes in the economy, a new political system, the weakening position of the church, the rediscovery of the ancient world -- all these factors and many others were at work. The chart on the following page lists some of the more important events which contributed to the emergence of renaissance society. Study it carefully to discover the influences which helped to shape this new world. As you study the chart try to determine how these influences were related to each other.

During the Middle Ages economic activity revived most rapidly in the Italian city-states. This activity created the kind of dynamic urban life which set the stage for the Renaissance. In fact, vigorous economic activity had never ceased in Italy. She had been the center of the Roman world and her cities, particularly Venice, remained the middlemen between Europe and the East throughout the Middle Ages. The Crusades increased the flow of people and trade through the Italian seaports; eventually Genoa, Pisa and Florence joined Venice as commercial centers. Sailors from those cities developed new ships, drew elaborate charts called portolani to guide them over the Mediterranean and perfected new navigational instruments. Their sails soon filled the seas which bordered southern Europe.

Manufacturing and banking developed in the wake of the trading vessels. Money became the medium of exchange. Italian merchants seeking for goods to exchange for the spices and luxuries of the East encouraged the development of industry including cloth making and shipbuilding. To keep track of their new transactions, merchants invented double entry bookkeeping, listing their assets and liabilities in parallel columns, an accounting technique essential to modern business practices. To handle this new wealth, some merchants eventually became bankers. From all these new economic activities -- trade, manufacturing, and banking -- a new class of wealthy men no longer dependent on land ownership for their prosperity emerged.

Large scale manufacturing developed in the Italian city-states. Raw materials such as wool and leather were imported from abroad and the finished products filled the holds of the merchants' ships. For this reason the merchants gained control of the manufacture of such goods as leather and cloth. They hired workers and paid them wages. This development helped to destroy the hold of the guilds, organizations of independent craftsmen who owned their own tools and raw materials and worked in small shops with little or no hired labor.

Other outlets for capital developed in banking and money lending. By the middle of the thirteenth century, they had become an indispensable part of Italian economic life. Merchants wished to pursue their profit-making activities without interference from political leaders. Cities such as Venice, Florence, Milan and Siena had grown large, wealthy and self-confident. In the thirteenth century they were a part of the Holy Roman Empire which was ruled by German kings. The fact that the Emperor lived in Germany and was involved in a struggle for power with the Pope gave the city-states an opportunity to play off emperor against Church in order to win their own political freedom. By the end of the fifteenth century, all Italy except

	ECONOMICS	POLITICS	RELIGION		LITERATURE	PAINTING & SCULPTURE
1300	Venice, Genoa, Pisa & Florence all centers of trade and mfg. 30,000 employed in Florentine cloth trade. Bkkpg & partnership arrangements develop in Italy. Eng. kings borrow from Florentine bankers	Rise of city-state in Italy Nobility being replaced by republics	1309-1378 Babylonian Captivity		1321 Dante died	1337 Giotto died
1350			1378-1407 Great Schism		1374 Petrarch died 1375 Boccaccio died Greek taught in Florence	
1400	Economic prosperity spreads to N. Europe	Sforzas to power in Milan. Venice ruled by merchants' council 1434 Cosimo de Medici to power in Florence	1447-1455 Nicholas V	1407-1534 Renaissance Papacy		1428 Masaccio died
1450	1460 Prince Henry the Navigator dies 1488 Diaz rounds Cape of Good Hope 1492 Columbus sails	1492 Lorenzo 1494 French invasion	1458-1464 Pius II 1492-1503 Alexander VI		1462 Cosimo de Medici founds Platonic Academy	1466 Donatello died
1500			1503-1513 Julius II 1513-1521 Leo X 1534-1549 Paul III, first in a line of reformer popes		1527 Machiavelli died	1510 Botticelli died 1519 Leonardo died 1520 Raphael died
1550						1564 Michelangelo died 1576 Titian died

the Kingdom of Naples in the south was controlled by independent territorial states. The map on the following page shows the major Italian city-states in the year 1490.

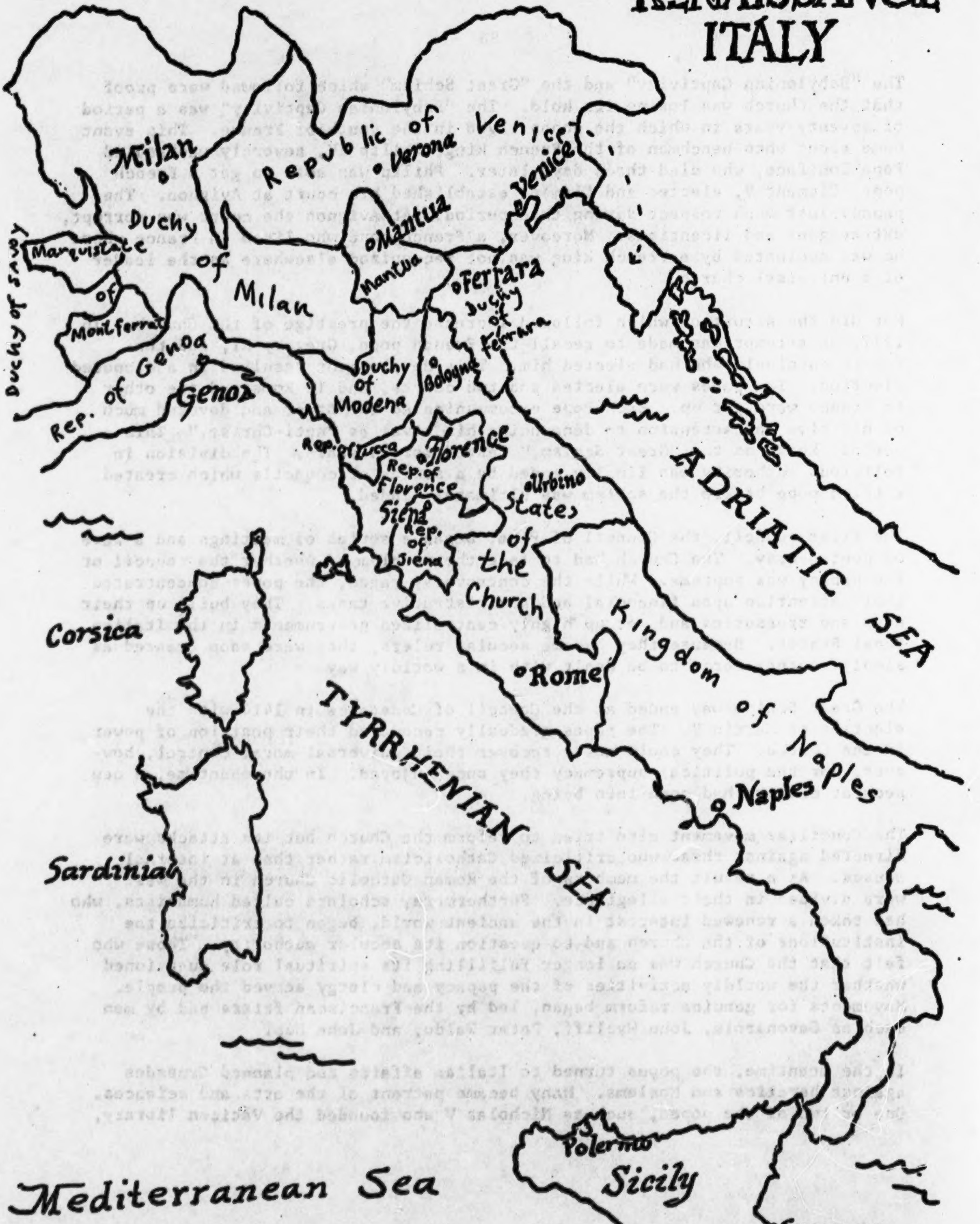
Most of these new city-states were ruled by despots. The Visconti and Sforzas of Milan and the Medici of Florence were examples. At first the cities were under the control of merchants and nobles. This rule was challenged in the thirteenth century by the merchants and bankers who because of their wealth were eager to direct the affairs of state. Guild masters, shop keepers and professional men usually supported them rather than either the aristocracy or the proletariat. The struggle among these various groups resulted in an ineffectual republican government which gave way to one-man rule. Each despot owed his power to wealth and popular support. Most of them became patrons of the arts and sciences. The varied interests and intense individualism of the "popular" despots was demonstrated in the works of art which they commissioned and in their concept of a many-sided personality.

The rapid development of the city-states destroyed the last traces of feudalism in Italy. The wealth and political power of merchants attracted feudal lords who allied themselves with the city-states rather than with the popes and emperors. Soon, the daughters of wealthy merchants began to marry the sons of impoverished nobles, and the titled but less wealthy nobility acquired money. Because farming without capital was not profitable, land gradually passed into the hands of merchants and bankers who lived in the city. Because of this development the political authority of the town spread to the surrounding countryside. The cities were able to win control of rural areas partly because of their political and economic position and partly because the Church, whose power was declining, was no longer able to stand in the way.

The Church, which had been a very powerful organization in the Middle Ages, began to lose its hold at the same time that the strength of the Italian city-states was growing. During these very years the papal power was also threatened by the rise of national states, particularly in France and England. The decline of the Church's power and influence gave the Renaissance a chance to emerge. Here was a case where the decay of an institution gave dynamic forces an opportunity to thrust ahead.

For centuries the Papacy had functioned as the spiritual leader of Europe. During this period, in addition to their spiritual duties, the Popes had concerned themselves with codifying canon law, developing the theory of papal supremacy and launching the Crusades. When Boniface VIII tried to exert papal influence in 1300, however, he was opposed by the Italian city-states and the rising national states to the north. Both Boniface's actions and his words demonstrated the growing weakness of the Church. He pushed the claims of the papacy to extremes, provoking the rulers of France, England and the Holy Roman Empire to clash openly with him and his successors over questions of temporal and clerical power.

RENAISSANCE ITALY


Milan
Republic of Venice
Verona
Venice
Mantua
Duchy of Milan
Marquisate of Montferrat
Duchy of Savoy
Mantua
Ferrara
Duchy of Ferrara
Rep. of Genoa
Genoa
Duchy of Modena
Bologna
Rep. of Lucca
Florence
Rep. of Florence
Urbino
Siena
Rep. of Siena
States of the Church
ADRIATIC SEA
Corsica
Rome
Kingdom of Naples
Naples
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Sardinia
Palermo
Sicily
Syracuse
Mediterranean Sea

The "Babylonian Captivity" and the "Great Schism" which followed were proof that the Church was losing its hold. The "Babylonian Captivity" was a period of seventy years in which the popes lived in the south of France. This event came about when henchmen of the French king, Philip IV, severely manhandled Pope Boniface, who died three days later. Philip was able to get a French pope, Clement V, elected and Clement established his court at Avignon. The papacy lost much respect during this period. At Avignon the court was corrupt, extravagant and licentious. Moreover, a French pope who lived in France where he was dominated by a French king was not recognized elsewhere as the leader of a universal church.

Nor did the situation which followed increase the prestige of the Church. In 1377, an attempt was made to recall the French pope, Gregory XI, and the French cardinals who had elected him. This development resulted in a disputed election. Two popes were elected and two courts, one in Rome and the other in France were set up. Each Pope excommunicated the other and devoted much of his time and attention to denouncing his rival as "anti-Christ." This period, known as the "Great Schism," lasted for 39 years. The division in religious authority was finally ended by a series of councils which created a third pope before the schism was ultimately ended.

The first council, the Council of Pisa, began a series of meetings and a wave of controversy. The Church had to face the problem of whether the council or the papacy was supreme. While the controversy raged, the popes concentrated their attention upon financial and administrative tasks. They built up their arms and treasuries and set up highly centralized governments in the Italian Papal States. Because they became secular rulers, they were soon treated as simply another force to be dealt with in a worldly way.

The Great Schism was ended at the Council of Constance in 1414 with the election of Martin V. The popes gradually recovered their position of power in the Church. They could never recover their universal moral control, however, nor the political supremacy they once enjoyed. In the meantime, a new secular culture had come into being.

The Conciliar movement also tried to reform the Church but its attacks were directed against those who criticized Catholicism rather than at internal abuses. As a result the members of the Roman Catholic Church in the west were divided in their allegiance. Furthermore, scholars called humanists, who had taken a renewed interest in the ancient world, began to criticize the institutions of the Church and to question its secular authority. Those who felt that the Church was no longer fulfilling its spiritual role questioned whether the worldly activities of the papacy and clergy served the people. Movements for genuine reform began, led by the Franciscan friars and by men such as Savonarola, John Wycliff, Peter Waldo, and John Hus.

In the meantime, the popes turned to Italian affairs and planned Crusades against heretics and Moslems. Many became patrons of the arts and sciences. One or two of the popes, such as Nicholas V who founded the Vatican library, were learned men. Other secularly-oriented popes were Pius II, a humanist, Paul II, a lover of art, Alexander VI, who was the father of Caesar and Lucretia Borgia, and Leo X.

Patronage of the arts and sciences in Renaissance Italy came as the result of the new social and cultural life generated by the economic, political and religious changes which we have discussed. The transition from a rural to an urban life and the accompanying changes in class structure and distribution of wealth had a dynamic impact upon the intellectual and aesthetic life of Renaissance Italy. Wealthy bankers, merchants, and manufacturers commissioned painters, sculptors, and architects. Educated in Italy's new schools and having the wealth and leisure to indulge their tastes, the new men of wealth helped to promote a brilliant epoch of art. So did the new secular clergy and the despots who ruled the cities.

A new social structure and the intense interest in the arts influenced both the arts and their creators. The artist had a new role in society. If a painter, a poet, or a scholar without funds could interest a wealthy banker, merchant, duke or clergyman, he could get money to support him while he worked. He not only received financial aid but often access to libraries, studios and stimulating company, as well. When the search for works of art became competitive, good artists such as Michelangelo, Botticelli, Cellini, Raphael and Titian became men of importance and wealth. The change in patronage from the Church to individuals and the change in the social status of the artist himself were reflected in the style, mood, subject matter and techniques of art.

Each artist strove for unique methods and also tried out new materials. In their experiments they studied the human body carefully, in order to render it more perfectly on canvas. Artists such as Leonardo Da Vinci and Benvenuto Cellini had a wide range of interests in sciences such as physics, astronomy and mathematics. Much of their work was derived from Greek and Roman models. All these developments can be seen in their painting and sculpture.

The inheritance of the ancients and the inventiveness of the present created new forms and ideals in art unique to the Renaissance. Architecture, too, was influenced by the ancients. Renaissance architects measured the dimensions of Roman ruins in the Italian cities and began to use columns, arches and domes, just as the Greeks and Romans had. Gothic art was ignored and many churches and public buildings were built in the "new" style by such men as Brunelleschi and Alberti. Monumental or free standing sculpture in the manner of the ancients came into wide use. The pieces which the Renaissance artists created were left unadorned like those of the historic remains of Greece and Rome which they saw about them. Other artistic techniques developed by the Italian Renaissance artists were the use of perspective, new spatial relationships and the wide use of color. The independence of expression so valued by the Renaissance artists contributed greatly to their work.

The Renaissance also saw an outburst of scholarship by writers who called themselves humanists. Inspired by the classics, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and a host of others began to imitate classic models and to write new works in the vernacular. The works which they prized the most -- their Latin letters written in imitation of men like Cicero -- are little valued today but some of their original compositions -- Petrarch's sonnets to Laura, Boccaccio's THE DECAMERON, Dante's DIVINE COMEDY, Machiavelli's THE PRINCE -- are universally recognized as classics in their own right. Through all of them run some common themes: individualism, secularism, skepticism, materialism, classicism and the ideal of the well-rounded man. The painters and sculptors of the Renaissance had many of these same qualities. Together the writers and artists painted onto canvas, chiseled into stone, and lettered onto parchment the story of their lives and the enthusiasms of their age.

UNIT VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

Stating the Issue

While dramatic developments were reshaping the culture of the Italian Renaissance, equally exciting changes transformed the political system of England. Feudal practices began to give way before the more modern institutions of the nation-state. These institutions grew out of a continuing contest for authority between the powerful men of medieval England--the King, the nobles, the country gentry and the political and economic leaders of the towns. The forerunner of modern representative institutions, Parliament, developed out of this long struggle.

The creation of Parliament as a functioning and powerful institution took place over several centuries. As it finally emerged in the eighteenth century, Parliament consisted of two houses. The House of Lords represented the old aristocracy, the warrior-governing class of medieval England. Its members included lineal descendants of men who held a title of nobility in the Middle Ages. In addition, those who had been elevated to the peerage by the King, as well as the bishops and archbishops of the Church of England were members. The House of Commons represented everyone else in the land. Its membership was elected by a small proportion of the population and consisted largely of wealthy and powerful men most of whom owned large tracts of land. Ordinary tradesmen and peasants did not sit in the House of Commons in the eighteenth century although a few of them could vote in some areas of the country.

The readings in this unit contain some of the documents that cast light on the evolution of Parliament. From these documents you should be able to construct some hypotheses to answer the following questions: What constitutional basis for parliamentary government was established by Magna Carta? What factors contributed to the growth of parliamentary power? What were the functions of Parliament as it evolved during these centuries? How much power did Parliament have at the end of the seventeenth century?

READING XXIII

A MILESTONE IN CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT *

* From Edwin Fenton, 32 PROBLEMS IN WORLD HISTORY (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1964) 88-92.

This entire reading is taken from Edwin Fenton's book of historical problems. The selections include a chronological chart indicating the high points of John's reign and a significant portion of the text of the Magna Carta.

READING XXIV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENT UNDER EDWARD I

Three developments marked the reign of Edward I (1272-1307). The first was a series of wars against Wales, Scotland and France. The Welsh wars finally brought the tough clansmen from the eastern part of the island under the control of the royal authority. Since Edward's day, the oldest son of the King has always been called the Prince of Wales as a symbol of this development. Edward's wars against Scotland and France were less successful, however. All three of these wars placed serious strains on the English treasury and forced Edward to find new ways to raise money.

The second major development was a codification and centralization of English law. The medieval belief that law was custom and custom alone had been disappearing throughout the thirteenth century. During Edward's reign, and with the support of the small council, a series of comprehensive statutes were enacted codifying and clarifying the law of the land. These statutes helped to establish the precedent that central authorities could make law and opened the way for Parliament to become the major law making institution of the realm in the future.

Finally Edward's reign saw the development of the institution of parliament. Simon de Montfort had called together an assembly which included knights and burgesses as well as members of the nobility and clergy in 1265. In Edward's reign this practice became a custom, a custom which helped to establish the membership of Parliament and eventually led to the development of the two houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

Reading XXIV consists of four documents which throw light upon the development of the parliament under Edward. Study questions precede each document.

* From Carl Stephenson and Frederick George Marcham, SOURCES OF ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY (New York: Harper and Row, 1937) 153-54, 156-57, 159-61, 194-97, passim.

All of the selections in this reading are drawn from the documents translated and edited by Stephenson and Marcham. They include Edward I's summons to the Parliaments of 1275, 1283 and 1295 (Model Parliament) and the Ordinance of 1311. These letters indicate the make-up of Parliament and in particular the growing influence of the House of Commons.

SUMMONS TO THE PARLIAMENT OF 1275*

In 1275 Edward summoned a parliament to meet in London. The following document was sent to the officials who were invited to attend.

1. Who had the power to summon a Parliament?
2. What types of people were called? What officer other than the king is responsible for getting people to serve in the Parliament?
3. What was the purpose of the Parliament?

SUMMONS TO THE PARLIAMENT OF 1283 *

The first major piece of legislation following the parliament of 1275 was the Statute of Westminster which increased the power of the king by giving him greater authority in local areas. The Statute was phrased to indicate that the laws passed came from the king: "These be the acts of King Edward, son to King Henry, made at Westminster at his first parliament general. . .by his council (refers to the King's council) and by the assent of Archbishops, bishops. . .earls, barons and the community of the realm being thither summoned." There is no hint in these words that the power to legislate had passed from the King to his parliament. However, the members of Parliament were anxious to have this power. The Summons to the Parliament of 1283 contains hints of the weapons which parliament was eventually to be able to use in its struggle for power.

1. Who came to this parliament? Why were they summoned?
2. What had the citizens of London done before they granted Edward the money he asked for? Why do you think he assented to their demand? How could they gain access to decision makers?

SUMMONS TO THE MODEL PARLIAMENT (1295) *

In 1290 Edward I issued the Statute of Quia Emportes giving freemen some additional rights over the lands on which they lived. In this statute he used the following phrase "The Lord King in his parliament at Westminster held after Easter in the eighteenth year of his reign, at the suggestion of the magnates of his realm." These words indicate the increasing influence of parliament and its growing role in legislation.

In 1295 Edward summoned a parliament whose composition set the pattern for the future. The summons to the parliament indicates several vital developments.

1. Why did Edward call the parliament?
2. Who was summoned? What groups did they represent?
3. Are the functions of parliament implied in this document consistent with the traditions of Magna Carta?
4. To what extent had legislation become a joint effort of King and Parliament? How could citizens gain access to legislative decision makers?

ORDINANCES OF 1311 *

Edward I died in 1307. In 1297 he had confirmed the charter of liberties drawn up by his father, Henry III, in the following words: ". . .on no account will we henceforth take from our kingdom such aids, taxes and prizes, except by the common consent of the whole kingdom and for the common benefit of the same kingdom, saving the ancient aids and prizes due and accustomed." In 1301 he affirmed the charter of liberties after Parliament had presented it to him for confirmation. In return, Parliament gave him a grant of money. Here again the power of Parliament had been increased by a new practice.

In 1311 Edward II rejected the provisions of a document called the Ordinances of 1311. They reveal the new way in which Parliament viewed its position in the government.

1. What previous powers of the king were limited or changed by this document?
2. What precedent did Parliament have for each of the changes it suggested?

READING XXV

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS *

Between the time of Edward I when the model Parliament was summoned and the end of the sixteenth century, the power and function of Parliament changed slowly and only a very little. It remained a body, called only at the king's will, with uncertain legislative powers and more uncertain rights. Documents from seventeenth century England, however, reveal that a number of changes took place which altered the functions and powers of Parliament in dramatic fashion.

Reading XXV contains a number of documents written at the end of the seventeenth century. In previous readings, each document has been preceded by a headnote to place it in perspective and give clues to the document's importance. In Reading XXV, however, the headnotes have been purposely omitted so that each student can come to conclusions independently. The following questions may be helpful.

*** All documents in this section are modernized versions of the original seventeenth century documents. (Modernization by John M. Good.)**

4. That levying money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all committments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are protestants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction, are illegal and void.

13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

II

DECLARATION OF WILLIAM

It is both certain and evident to all men, that the public peace and happiness of any state or kingdom cannot be preserved when the Laws, Liberties, and Customs, established by the lawful authority, are openly transgressed and annulled. . . .Upon these grounds we cannot restrain ourselves from declaring that, to our great regret, we see that the King and his Counsellors have overturned the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of England. Those evil Counsellors did invent what they call the King's Dispensing Power by which they pretend that the King can refuse to execute laws that have been enacted by the authority of King and Parliament for the security and happiness of the subject; and therefore, they have, in fact, overturned those laws. In particular they have tried to overturn those laws regarding the establishment of the Church of England so that they can introduce the Popish religion into the realm. . . .

We have tried to warn the King of these evil tendencies, but those evil Counsellors have so twisted our good intentions that they have alienated the King more and more from us. The last and great Remedy for all those evils is the calling of a Parliament, for securing the nation against the evil practices of those wicked Counsellors; but this cannot be done so long as the King and these evil Counsellors undermine the independence of the Parliament by packing it with members who support their evil intentions and disfranchising those who oppose their Popish tendencies. . . .

Since our dearest and most beloved Consort, the Princess, Mary (sister of the present King, James II), and likewise ourselves, have so great an interest in this matter, and a right to succeed James to the throne (Mary being next in line), . . .and since the English nation has always expressed to us a most particular affection and esteem; we cannot excuse ourselves from espousing their interests in a matter of such high consequence and from contributing all the aid that lies within us for maintaining the Protestant Religion and the Laws and Liberties of the kingdom and for securing to them the continual enjoyment of their just Rights. We have been asked by a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks, to aid them in this cause.

Therefore, we have thought fit to go over to England and carry with us a force sufficient to defend us from the violence of those Evil Counsellors; and we have prepared this declaration so that our intentions in these matters will be full understood. Our Expedition is intended for no other purpose but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon as is possible.

Since the King's late summoning of the Parliament was contrary to ancient custom, his charters will be considered as null and void, and likewise, those magistrates whom he has unjustly turned out shall now resume their normal posts and duties, and the ancient laws governing the election of members to Parliament from the boroughs of England shall be reinstated. The members of Parliament, being thus lawfully chosen, shall sit in full freedom so that the two houses can prepare such laws as they, together, consider necessary for the protection of the Protestant Religion in England and for the safety of the realm from evermore falling under arbitrary government. And we do, in the last place, invite and require all persons whatsoever, all the peers of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, all lords lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and all gentlemen, citizens, and commons of all ranks, to come and assist us, . . .so we may prevent all those miseries which follow from arbitrary government and slavery and so that we may set aright all those things that have overturned the Constitution of the English government.

-- Given under our hand and seal at our court in the Hague (Netherlands), the 10th day of October, in the year ____.

WILLIAM HENRY, Prince of Orange.

III

THE TRIENNIAL ACT

An act for the frequent meeting and calling of parliaments. Whereas, by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom, frequent parliaments ought to be held; and whereas frequent and new parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement of the king and people:. . .it is hereby declared and enacted. . .that from henceforth a parliament shall be held once every three years at the least. And be it further enacted that within three years at the most after the dissolution of this present parliament, the king shall call for the assembling and holding of another new parliament; and that from time to time from hereafter the king shall call together a new parliament within three years after the assembling of any parliament. And be it further enacted that from henceforth no parliament, whatsoever, shall continue to sit for longer than three years. . . .

IV

AN INVITATION TO WILLIAM OF ORANGE

To the Dutch Stadtholder, William:

We have the great satisfaction to find from our special agent #35. . .that your Highness is so ready and willing to give us assistance. We have every reason to believe that conditions in England will get worse than they are, unless you will help us find a remedy that will deliver us; but though these be our wishes, yet we do not wish to misguide your councils in this matter; so the best advice we can give you is to inform your Highness truly of the state of things here in England at this time and of the difficulties we see before us. The people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the King's government, in relation to their religion, liberties, and properties (all of which have been greatly invaded by the King) and they expect things to get worse day by day, that your Highness may be assured that nineteen out of every twenty Englishmen desire a change. We believe, therefore, that the great majority of Englishmen will support you against the present government if you were to land here with sufficient troops as to assure them of protection until a new government can be organized and matters set in order. We have further reason to believe that the King's army will not be able to offer you great resistance, since in all likelihood the officers and men will be divided among themselves, since the soldiers fight only for subsistence and since they are greatly repelled by the Popish religion which the present King has adopted. We believe that great numbers of deserters would come from them. Besides all this, it would appear that conditions in England will get worse within the year. The King has called a Parliament which has been packed with his own supporters (so that only forty of the present members can be safely recognized as being against the present trend) and it is likely that Parliament will make changes in the army by purging out those whom they would call obstructionist in their tendencies.

These considerations make us believe that this is the best time for us to assure our safety against the present government. If your Highness believes that you can get here in time and in a condition to give us assistance this year, we will not fail to attend your Highness upon your landing, and we will do all that lies in our power to prepare others to be in readiness within the bounds of discretion and secrecy this venture requires. . . .

Under guarded secrecy. Agents:

25	24	27	29	31	35	33
Sh	Dev.	Danby	Lumley	London	Russel	Sydney

V

THE NEW CORONATION OATH

The archbishop or bishop shall say, "Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same?" The King and Queen shall say, "I solemnly promise so to do."

READING XXVI

THE GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT

The British Parliament is a peculiar mixture of tradition and innovation. How strange to watch its members, sitting in a Gothic hail reminiscent of a medieval cathedral, debating the merits of a proposed change in nuclear policy according to folkways hallowed by centuries of practice! This combination of tradition and innovation is the very stuff of which Parliament is made. It developed out of medieval institutions to preserve the traditional principles of English government while adapting to the forces which were changing the social make up of the nation.

No one can set a precise date for the founding of Parliament. In 1250 no such institution existed. By 1350 it was an established organ of government with recognized rights and responsibilities. During that period, traditional institutions had been reshaped little by little to create the ancestor of today's Parliament. What traditional principles and practices went into its founding? What new forces contributed to its development?

The British had never given their monarch complete power. In medieval times a number of advisors drawn from the greatest nobles of the realm accompanied the King. He usually consulted them to win their support for new undertakings. After William the Conqueror's victory over the Anglo-Saxons at Hastings in 1066, the King's power increased but it did not become absolute. William blended Norman feudalism with Anglo-Saxon laws and governmental institutions. He did not replace one with the other.

In the years following the Norman Conquest, William and his descendants set out to create a stronger and more centralized monarchy. Local nobles lost the power to raise sizeable armies from among their vassals. William required each Duke, Count, Baron, and Knight to swear direct, primary allegiance to the King. This practice prevented a Duke from raising an army to field against his monarch. William also scattered the lands of his principal vassals around the realm so that no noble could control an entire area of land and become a threat to the King's power.

William and his successors also began to codify and supplement local laws to develop a national legal system. William's grandson, Henry II, gathered a staff of brilliant jurists to draw up a uniform law code for the entire kingdom. It was based on the old Anglo-Saxon common law and enforced through two institutions which the Anglo-Saxons had founded, the jury and the sheriff. To these ancient institutions, the Norman kings grafted traveling justices who enforced the new law codes as they traveled their circuits around the nation. By the time of King John early in the thirteenth century, the Norman monarchs had developed Europe's most consolidated kingdom by adding new elements to the traditional Anglo-Saxon legal and governmental structure. They never broke completely with the past, however.

When King John tried to override the rights which his nobles had held for centuries, they rebelled against him. John tried to accumulate more and more power regardless of whose toes he stepped upon. This policy got him into trouble with the Pope, with the French king, and most of all with the English nobles. When he appointed one of his men Archbishop of Canterbury without the Pope's consent, Boniface VIII forced him to change the appointment and even to swear fealty to Rome. In effect, this development made John the Pope's vassal. The English King also lost his struggle with Philip Augustus of France. John had tried to increase the feudal dues collected from his French vassals. In league with Philip, these nobles refused to pay more than their customary dues and denounced their fealty to John. In order to get money to fight wars against Philip, John raised the traditional feudal dues in England and levied taxes without consulting his barons in the customary fashion. At odds with the Pope, defeated in France, and with almost no support from anyone who counted in England, John could only surrender when his barons presented him with the Magna Carta in 1216.

The Magna Carta was essentially a feudal document. It listed in detail a number of rights which Englishmen had inherited over the centuries and required the King to observe these rights. Most of them had originated in feudal contracts, but some extended back to Anglo-Saxon times. Although most of the provisions of this famous document were concerned with the rights of the nobility, a few protected the Church, the towns, and the common people of the realm. Some provisions were worded in such a way that later generations of Englishmen, coming across Magna Carta in an attempt to find precedents for reducing the power of the King, could claim that John had promised not to tax without consulting the peoples' representatives. Another clause seemed to give subjects the right to revolt if their monarch broke the law. Ever since King John placed his seal on Magna Carta, Englishmen have used it as evidence that new demands were in keeping with ancient traditions. The past has been used to justify innovation.

The Magna Carta was the last major innovation that the nobles, acting alone, were able to introduce. Social and economic changes slowly undermined the positions of the barons. At the same time, two rising classes, the country gentry and the burgesses, accumulated more and more power. The development of commerce in the late Middle Ages was accompanied by inflation. As the price of goods increased, the nobles, who depended upon the fixed rents paid by their tenants, became less and less wealthy. At the same time, the gentry and the burgesses who participated in the growing commerce gained greater and greater wealth. Furthermore, kings relied increasingly on paid armies rather than on the old feudal army made up of vassals. The king's military strength depended more on the revenues he obtained from taxation and less on independent feudal nobles. The development of cheap weapons, such as the long bow, which the king could buy for all of his soldiers accelerated the transition from a feudal to a mercenary army. These changes in the economy and in military science made the nobles less important and the gentry and burgesses more important to the king.

The political system reflected the social changes that were taking place. The King, who had before relied mainly upon his nobles for aid and counsel, began to depend more heavily on the wealthy commoners who could supply him with needed revenues. Sometime during the thirteenth century, the English kings began to consult the gentry and the burgesses before undertaking military expeditions. The kings' real purpose was to obtain their consent in advance for proposed taxes. King Edward I called the first "parliaments"; it was natural for him to include those commoners from whom he could get enough money to finance his projects.

These first meetings were not parliaments in the modern sense of the term. The men whom Edward called to meet with him did not consider themselves a legal governing body. They recognized that the main reason for their meeting with the King was to grant him money. At first they did not expect to participate in making legislative or administrative decisions. But commoners and nobles both recognized that the meeting with the King was a good opportunity to lay their grievances before him and petition for redress. The King read these petitions and often did what was asked. In some instances, however, he refused.

The delegates to the parliaments soon realized that many of their petitions were similar in nature and would stand a better chance of favorable action if they were presented as one request from the group. Moreover, they knew that as a group they could withhold money the King requested until their demands were satisfied. In short, the members of the early parliaments began to blackmail the King in order to make him grant their petitions. Since the delegates to the Parliament - nobles, burgesses, and gentry - were the wealthiest men in the realm and the major source of tax revenues, the King often gave in to their demands.

By the end of the fourteenth century, Parliament had become a bargaining force in the English government. Yet it had little actual power. It met only when the King wished to call it. It had no recognized right to make legislation, though it could exert considerable influence on the King when he proposed changes in the laws. In the centuries that followed, Parliament achieved more and more power. It became custom that the King could not make new laws without the Parliament's consent. Parliament gained the right to impeach the King's ministers and thereby obtained considerable influence over the monarch's policies. Finally, the members were granted immunity from arrest when they were attending Parliament or traveling to and from its sessions.

Although Parliament had gained considerable power by the seventeenth century, it had not exercised it often. When Elizabeth I, the last of the great Tudor monarchs, died, her place was taken by her nephew, James of Scotland, who immediately set out to free himself from parliamentary influence. Like Louis XIV, James believed that kings were given the right to rule by God; men who interfered with this right and responsibility were violating God's will. He and his son, Charles II, attempted to rule England without consulting Parliament. Charles succeeded for eleven years. Finally an annoying war with the Scots forced him to call Parliament in 1640 when he ran out of funds. The members, bitter and frustrated during the long period of inactivity, immediately began to take measures against the King and his ministers. They impeached Charles' most valued councilor, the Earl of Strafford, and began to petition the King for regular Parliaments. So severe were the measures proposed that civil war broke out between the supporters of the King and the supporters of Parliament. In the end, due to the military and political genius of the Puritan, Oliver Cromwell, Parliament was victorious. The Puritans, to whom Parliament was indebted for its victory, had chafed for years at the intolerance of the British Crown toward their sect. They led a movement to have Charles executed, and in 1649 the King's head and body were parted by the headsman's axe. Cromwell and his Puritan friends established a republic with Cromwell as the executive officer. But when the Lord Protector died, England had had enough of the experiment. In 1660 Parliament called Charles I's son to the throne. For Englishmen, innovations that proceed too fast and stray too far from accepted traditions are unwelcome.

Charles II and his brother, James II, ruled England for the next twenty-eight years. When they began to act more and more like their Stuart forebears, Parliament again became alarmed. To add to Parliament's distress, James II seemed to be trying to return the Roman Catholic religion to England. Several members of Parliament began to scheme secretly with the Dutch Stadtholder, William of Orange, who had married James' sister, Mary. In 1668 James, who saw the handwriting on the wall and realized he had no army to protect himself, fled to France to obtain aid from the grand Catholic monarch, Louis XIV. In the meantime, William landed in England with a sizeable army. A Parliament was called, and it promptly elected William and Mary King and Queen. As part of the bargain, William agreed that Parliament had the right to make laws and that he would abide by the laws of the realm.

Parliament had become the supreme power in the land. To assure itself of continued power, Parliament passed the Triennial Act which declared that a Parliament could sit only for three years and that a new Parliament must always be called within three years after the previous one had met. Parliament also consolidated its right to levy taxes and won some control over the way the kings spent public money. Again new innovations had been grafted to established institutions.

After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Parliament became supreme. Its members introduced and passed bills which became the law of the land. Since early in the eighteenth century, no English monarch has dared to refuse to sign a bill passed by his Parliament. But Parliament was too large to govern the kingdom efficiently. A smaller group was necessary which could formulate policy for the majority of the legislature. Leadership in Parliament naturally arose from those men who could control the votes. These leaders soon became a smaller group within the large one. It became practical for the king to appoint his ministers from this small group, for by doing so the King was assured of acting in concert with the wishes of the majority. When these ministers lost the confidence of the majority, they soon learned to resign so that members of the Parliament who had popular favor could carry on the task of governing. Hence, the cabinet system of government, in which the executive officers of the nation are also the legislative leaders, began to develop in England. The leader of this group of ministers ultimately became the prime minister.

The major matters of national concern during the first half of the eighteenth century were a series of recurring wars with France over conflicting claims to overseas empires. Cabinets generally formed around factions which were loyal to one of the large, influential families of England. These factions were able to maintain control of the government by two methods. In the first place, the king was allowed to appoint many officials to his "household." Such jobs were generally only honorary, though they entitled the holders to handsome salaries. The cabinets soon acquired the power of appointing these officials with the understanding that they would always vote for cabinet policies in Parliament. In the second place, a population shift had taken place in England as industries grew up in the great midland towns. At the same time, boroughs which had once been heavily populated became ghost towns. Yet the representation in Parliament was not reapportioned to follow the population movement. The ridiculous situation arose whereby a booming industrial city like Manchester sent no representatives to Parliament while a borough like Old Saram, which had actually been washed into the English Channel, continued to send two members. The great families seized upon this situation to buy up these ghost towns, called "rotten boroughs" or to bribe the few remaining inhabitants to elect their friends to Parliament.

When George III, famous as America's last King, ascended the throne in 1761, he began a concerted effort to wrest the controls of Parliament away from the great families and concentrate them in his own hands. By 1770 he had accomplished his purpose. For the next twelve years, he ruled England through his puppet minister, Lord North. In the past, Parliament had found a practical way to use traditional forms to limit the power of the King. With the coming of George III, the process was reversed. He had seized the traditional sources of power and turned them to his own ends. He was successful in his designs, however, only because the country gentlemen, who made up the largest bloc of votes in Parliament, had tired of government by the great families, and willingly returned power to their monarch.

George III lost the favor of the gentry in the early 1780's when it became evident that he could not win the war with the American colonies. Lord North resigned and a new cabinet was brought in to end the war and reduce the King's influence over Parliament. The new ministry introduced the first reform bill in England's history. Written by Edmund Burke, the reform bill reduced the number of honorary jobs that could be given out by the King. One of the most effective levers of parliamentary control was thereby broken.

Burke's reform bill was followed by a wave of reform spirit. Chief among the targets were the over-representation of the unpopulated boroughs and the lack of representation for industrial cities. The reform movements also advocated extending the vote to more adult males, for at this time the vote was generally limited to wealthy property owners, though in some areas lesser men had the ballot. The members of Parliament divided sharply on the issues of reform. Some, including Burke, were violently opposed to it while others, including Burke's old ally, Charles James Fox, wished to continue it further. The coming of the French Revolution drew the lines between reformers and anti-reformers more sharply. This division over the principle of reform led directly to the formation of the modern two-party system in Parliament.

Modern parties had not existed in the eighteenth century. Parliament was divided into several factions, each grouped around one of the great families. Each faction looked out for its own interests. Only rarely did factions combine on the basis of an issue, and these coalitions did not last long for there was no party organization to sustain them. The issue of reform, on the other hand, bothered England for over forty years. Eventually the division on Parliament into two groups over this issue was combined with the organizational structure of the old factions to develop the modern two-party system.

In 1832 the party which favored reform achieved a majority in the House of Commons. Subtle social, intellectual, and economic forces had been building pressure for reform for many years. Factory owners in the Midlands found they had no effective influence in Parliament because their cities and towns were not represented. Moreover, the philosophical issues raised by the French Revolution had been picked up by English thinkers who advocated democratic reforms in pamphlet after pamphlet. Finally, most Englishmen were distressed because the gentry who controlled Parliament would not pass vital measures. These pressures, combined with shrewd political manipulation by the Whig party, ultimately produced the Great Reform Bill of 1832.

The Reform Bill proposed to reapportion the House of Commons to base representation more closely on the distribution of population. The bill also would extend suffrage to less wealthy property owners. Even though they had a majority in the House of Commons, the Whigs found that passing the bill would be difficult. The House of Lords refused to give in on the issue. The Whig leader, Earl Grey, schemed with leaders of working men's organizations to put pressure on the Lords by threatening riots and runs on the Bank of England. Then the wily Grey made the King promise to create new peers to sit in the House of Lords to vote for reform if the upper house did not give in. Faced with these pressures, the Lords finally surrendered and passed the measure.

Once the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed, others followed on its heels. Toward the end of the century, two great Prime Ministers, Benjamin Disraeli of the Conservative Party and William Gladstone of the Liberal Party, vied with each other to extend the vote. They passed additional reform measures in 1867, 1884 and 1835 that extended the franchise to virtually all adult males and based representation completely on population distribution. Additional legislation requiring the use of a secret ballot was passed in 1872. By the second decade of the twentieth century even women were given the right to choose members of the House of Commons. In still another reform measure, the House of Lords was divested of its veto power in 1911. By this measure the democratic House of Commons became the supreme political authority in Great Britain.

As the highest power in the land, the House of Commons holds both legislative and executive power. The executive functions are assumed by the cabinet with the Prime Minister acting as the chief executive. He and his cabinet are the leaders of the party which holds a majority in the House. All members of the Cabinet are also members of either the House of Commons or the House of Lords. Their functions are to introduce laws which will implement their party's program and then see that they are administered. To aid in the administration of the laws, a large civil service made up of officials who have no official party connection, maintain bureaus to carry out the necessary administrative tasks. As long as a party continues to have the confidence of the people it continues to make and execute laws without opposition. If it loses an election, the cabinet ministers all resign and the opposition party takes its place as the government of the realm. The King or Queen has no actual power. They preside at ceremonies and serve as symbols for the nation.

Over six centuries Parliament had evolved little by little from a small group of king's advisors to one of the most democratic of all representative institutions in the world. Traditional institutions and principles were constantly adjusted and readjusted to create a more modern legislature. William the Conqueror had combined Norman feudalism with traditional Anglo-Saxon institutions; the barons had forced King John to sign a feudal document which laid the cornerstone for modern, constitutional government; Edward I

and his successors joined the rising gentry and burgesses to the already powerful nobility to create the first Parliament; the seventeenth century Glorious Revolution established Parliament as supreme without undermining the traditional monarchy; the cabinet and two-party systems slowly evolved in the House of Commons; and a series of limited reform bills gradually extended the democratic basis of representation. As it evolved, Parliament combined practical innovation with traditional institutions and principles to create that curious body of gentlemen who sit before the traditional, wool-sack chair of a bewigged speaker to debate the issues of space technology and nuclear weapons.

UNIT VII

THE ANATOMY OF ABSOLUTISM

Stating the Issue

Beginning in the late Middle Ages, French and English kings attempted to create unified nation-states under their leadership. By the seventeenth century, both of the royal lines had successfully destroyed most of the traditional, feudal political system. Both countries had become unified nation-states, but each had developed its own political system.

In England, the king's power was shared with the House of Lords and the House of Commons in a parliamentary form of government. This representative type of government was the precursor of modern democracies. In France, on the other hand, the Capetian kings succeeded in developing an absolute monarchy in which the king shared no significant power with any other group. Just as the British system was the ancestor of modern democracies, France, under absolute monarchy was the forefather of modern totalitarian governments.

Neither representative nor absolutist governments necessarily developed directly into more modern forms, of course. Nevertheless, seventeenth century governments contained the seeds out of which both modern democracy and modern totalitarianism grew.

The development of absolute monarchy in France took place over several centuries, just as the growth of Parliament took hundreds of years. Little by little the French kings undermined the position of the great nobles and accumulated more and more power themselves. By the time the grandest of the French monarchs, Louis XIV, had ascended the throne, the task of creating the absolutist state was almost completed. Louis quickly finished the job by removing all competitors for his power and ruled supreme for more than sixty years.

This unit, unlike the last which traced the development of Parliament, will not focus on the long evolution of the absolute monarchy. Instead, the readings will provide evidence which you can use to analyze the characteristics of absolute monarchy as practiced by Louis XIV. How were leaders recruited in an absolute monarchy? What were their attributes? How were decisions made? Who had access to the government? What was the role of ideology in the absolute monarchy? These are the questions we shall attempt to answer with evidence from Unit VII.

READING XXVII

AN ABSOLUTE MONARCH IN ACTION

The reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715) played a vital role in the evolution of the modern state. Louis claimed that as King of France he was entitled to make and carry out all the laws of the realm. His ability to rule France single-handed depended upon a number of factors. The three selections in Reading XXVII examine some of these factors. A few study questions precede each selection.

LOUIS XIV DESCRIBES THE FUNCTIONS OF A KING TO HIS SON *

The first selection contains advice which the King jotted down for the guidance of his young heir in 1666.

1. According to Louis, how should a king make decisions?
2. How should he choose his ministers? What does his philosophy imply about the recruitment of leaders in an absolute monarchy?

Two things without doubt were absolutely necessary: very hard work on my part, and a wise choice of persons capable of seconding it.

As for work, it may be, my son, that you will begin to read these lines at an age when one is far more in the habit of dreading than loving it, only too happy to have escaped subjection to tutors and to have your hours regulated no longer, nor lengthy and prescribed study laid down for you. (and yet) it is. . .toil by which one reigns and for which one reigns. . . .

I laid a rule on myself to work regularly twice every day, and for two or three hours each time with different persons, without counting the hours which I passed privately and alone, nor the time I was able to give on particular occasions to any special affairs that might arise. There was no moment when I did not permit people to talk to me about them, provided that they were urgent. . . .

I cannot tell you what fruit I gathered immediately I had taken this resolution. I felt myself, as it were, uplifted in thought and courage; I found myself quite another man, and with joy reproached myself for having been too long unaware of it. The first timidity, which a little self-judgment always produces and which at the beginning gave me pain, especially on

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* A KING'S LESSONS IN STATESCRAFT: LOUIS XIV, trans. by H. Wilson, (New York, 1906) Volume II, pp. 273-277.

occasions when I had to speak in public, disappeared in no time. The only thing that I felt then was that I was King, and born to be one. I experienced next a delicious feeling, hard to express, and which you will not know yourself except by tasting it as I have done. For you must not imagine, my son, that the affairs of State are like some obscure and thorny path of learning wherein the mind strives to raise itself with effort above its level, more often to arrive at no conclusion. . . .The function of Kings consists principally in allowing good sense to act, which always acts naturally and without effort. . . .A King, however skillful and enlightened be his ministers, cannot put his own hand to the work without its effect being seen. Success, which is aggreable in everything, even in the smallest matters, gratifies us in these as well as in the greatest, and there is no satisfaction to equal that of noting every day some progress in glorious and lofty enterprises, and in the happiness of the people which has been planned and thought out by oneself. All that is most necessary to this work is at the same time agreeable; for, in a word, my son, it is to have one's eyes open to the whole earth; to learn each hour the news concerning every province and every nation, the secrets of every court, the mood and weaknesses of each Prince and of every foreign minister; to be well-informed on an infinite number of matters about which we are supposed to know nothing; to elicit from our subjects what they hide from us with the greatest care; to discover interest of those who come to use with quite contrary words in their mouths. I do not know of any other pleasure we would not renounce for that. . . .

A NOBLE APPRAISES THE CHARACTER OF LOUIS XIV *

The Duke de Saint-Simon was a member of one of the most illustrious noble families of France. A close confidant of the King and a keen observer of the life of the Court, Saint-Simon recorded his observations and his conclusions in the memoirs from which the following passages have been taken.

1. **What were the King's most important personal attributes? Which characteristics do you think are essential to being an absolute monarch? Can a king be absolute without them?**

2. **How did Louis choose his subordinates? What would be the most important attributes of the decision makers who surrounded Louis at the court?**

*** MEMOIRS OF LOUIS XIV AND THE REGENCY, Duke of Saint-Simon, trans. by Bayle St. John, Vol. 3 (Washington: M. Walter Dunne, 1901) II, 359.**

I shall pass over the stormy period of Louis XIV's minority. At twenty-three years of age he entered the great world as King, under the most favorable auspices. His ministers were the most skillful in all Europe; his generals the best; his Court was filled with illustrious and clever men, formed during the troubles which had followed the death of Louis XIII.

Louis XIV was made for a brilliant Court. In the midst of other men, his figure, his courage, his grace, his beauty, his grand mien, even the tone of his voice and the majestic and natural charm of all his person, distinguished him till his death as the King Bee, and showed that if he had only been born a simple private gentleman, he would equally have excelled in fêtes, pleasures, and gallantry, and would have had the greatest success in love. The intrigues and adventures which early in life he had been engaged in. . .had exercised an unfortunate influence upon him: he received those impressions with which he could never after successfully struggle. From this time, intellect, education, nobility of sentiment, and high principle, in others, became objects of suspicion to him, and soon of hatred. The more he advanced in years, the more this sentiment was confined in him. He wished to reign by himself. His jealousy on this point unceasingly became weakness. He reigned, indeed, in little things; the great he could never reach: even in the former, too, he was often governed. The superior ability of his early ministers and his early generals soon wearied him. He liked nobody to be in any way superior to him. Thus he chose his ministers, not for their knowledge, but for their ignorance; not for their capacity, but for their want of it. He liked to form them, as he said; liked to teach them even the most trifling things. It was the same with his generals. He took credit to himself for instructing them; wished it to be thought that from his cabinet he commanded and directed all his armies. Naturally fond of trifles, he unceasingly occupied himself with the most petty details of his troops, his household, his mansions; would even instruct his cooks, who received, like novices, lessons they had known by heart for years. This vanity, this unmeasured and unreasonable love of admiration, was his ruin. His ministers, his generals, his mistresses, his courtiers, soon perceived his weakness. They praised him with emulation and spoiled him. Praises, or to say truth, flattery, pleased him to such an extent, that the coarsest was well received, the vilest even better relished. It was the sole means by which you could approach him. Those whom he liked owed his affection for them, to their untiring flatteries. This is what gave his ministers so much authority, and the opportunities they had for adulating him, of attributing everything to him, and of pretending to learn everything from him. Suppleness, meanness, an admiring, dependent, cringing manner--above all, an air of nothingness--were the sole means of pleasing him.

This poison spread. It spread, too, to an incredible extent, in a prince who, although of intellect beneath mediocrity, was not utterly without sense, and who had had some experience. Without voice or musical knowledge, he used to sing, in private, the passages of the opera prologues that were fullest of his praises. He was drowned in vanity; and so deeply, that at his public suppers--all the Court present, musicians also--he would hum these self-same praises between his teeth, when the music they were set to was played.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF THE KING *

The attributes of the King and the way in which he made decisions are revealed in the following passages from the memoirs of Saint-Simon.

1. What are the most important characteristics of the King and of his courtiers?
2. How were decisions made? How could citizens gain access to decision makers?
3. What were the strengths and weaknesses of absolutist government?

At eight o'clock the chief valet de chambre on duty, who alone had slept in the royal chamber. . .awoke the King. The chief physician, the chief surgeon, and the nurse (as long as she lived), entered at the same time. The latter kissed the King; the others rubbed and often changed his shirt, because he was in the habit of sweating a great deal. At the quarter, the grand chamberlain was called (or, in his absence, the first gentleman of the chamber), and those who had what was called the grandes entrées. The chamberlain (or chief gentleman) drew back the curtains which had been closed again, and presented the holy water from the vase, at the head of the bed. These gentlemen stayed but a moment, and that was the time to speak to the King, if anyone had anything to ask of him; in which case the rest stood aside. When, contrary to custom, nobody had aught to say, they were there but for a few moments. He had opened the curtains and presented the holy water, presented also a prayer book. . . .The same officer gave him his dressing gown; immediately after, other privileged courtiers entered, and then everybody, in time to find the King putting on his shoes and stockings, for he did almost everything himself and with address and grace. Every other day we saw the King shave himself; and he had a little short wig in which he always appeared, even in bed, and on medicine days. He often spoke of the chase, and sometimes said a word to somebody. No toilet table was near him; he had simply a mirror held before him.

As soon as he was dressed, he prayed to God, at the side of his bed, where all the clergy present knelt, the cardinals without cushions, all the laity remaining standing; and the captain of the guards came to the balustrade during the prayer, after which the King passed into his cabinet.

He found there, or was followed by all who had the entrée, a very numerous company, for it included everybody in any office. He gave orders to each for the day; thus within a half a quarter of an hour it was known what he

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* Saint-Simon, Ibid., pps. 30-37.

meant to do; and then all this crowd left directly. . . .It was then a good opportunity for talking with the King; for example, about plans of gardens and buildings; and conversation lasted more or less according to the person engaged in it.

All the Court meantime waited for the King in the gallery, the captain of the guard being alone in the chamber seated at the door of the cabinet. . . . During this pause the King gave audiences when he wished to accord any, spoke with whoever he might wish to speak secretly to, and gave secret interviews to foreign ministers. . . .They were called "secret" simply to distinguish them from the uncommon ones by the bedsides.

The King went to mass, where his musicians always sang an anthem. He did not go below except on grand fêtes or at ceremonies. While he was going to and returning from mass, everybody spoke to him who wished, after apprising the captain of the guard, if they were not distinguished; and he came and went by the door of the cabinets into the gallery. During the mass the ministers assembled in the King's chamber where distinguished people could go and speak or chat with them. The King amused himself a little upon returning from mass and asked almost immediately for the Council. Then the morning was finished.

On Sunday, and often on Monday, there was a council of state; on Tuesday a finance council; on Wednesday council of state; on Saturday finance council. Rarely were two held in one day or any on Thursday or Friday. Once or twice a month there was a council of dispatches on Monday morning; but the order that the Secretaries of State took every morning between the King's rising and his mass, much abridged this kind of business. . . .

Thursday morning was almost always blank. It was the day for audience that the King wished to give--often unknown to any--backstair audiences. . . . On Friday after the mass the King was with his confessor, and the length of their audiences was limited by nothing, and might last until dinner. At Fontainebleau on the mornings when there was no Council, the King usually passed from mass to Madame de Maintenon's* and so at Trianon and Marly. It was the time of their tete-a-tets without interruption. Often on the days when there was no Council the dinner hour was advanced, more or less for the chase or the promenade. The ordinary hour was one o'clock; if the Council still lasted, then the dinner waited and nothing was said to the King.

Upon leaving the table the King immediately entered his cabinet. That was the time for distinguished people to speak to him. He stopped at the door a moment to listen, then entered; very rarely did anyone follow him, never without asking him for permission to do so; and for this few had the courage. If followed he placed himself in the embrasure of the window nearest to the door of the cabinet, which immediately closed of itself, and which you were obliged to open yourself on quitting the King. . . .

* The King's mistress.

The King amused himself by feeding his dogs, and remained with them more or less time, then asked for his wardrobe, changed before the very few distinguished people it pleased the first gentleman of the chamber to admit there, and immediately went out by the back stairs into the court of marble to get into his coach. From the bottom of that staircase to the coach, anyone spoke to him who wished. . . .

Upon returning home from walks or drives, anybody, as I have said, might speak to the King from the moment he left his coach till he reached the foot of his staircase. He changed his dress again, and rested in his cabinet an hour or more, then went to Madame de Maintenon's and on the way anyone who wished might speak to him.

At ten o'clock his supper was served. The captain of the guard announced this to him. A quarter of an hour after the King came to supper, and from the antechamber of Madame de Maintenon to the table again, anyone spoke to him who wished. This supper was always on a grand scale, the royal household (that is, the sons and daughters of France), at table, and a large number of courtiers and ladies present, sitting or standing. . . .

After supper the King stood some moments, his back to the balustrade of the foot of his bed, encircled by all his Court; then, with bows to the ladies, passed into his cabinet, where on arriving, he gave his orders. He passed a little less than an hour there, seated in an armchair, with his legitimate children and bastards, his grandchildren, legitimate and otherwise, and their husbands or wives. Monsieur in another armchair; the princesses upon stools, Monseigneur and all the other princes standing.

The King, wishing to retire, went and fed his dogs; then said good night, passed into his chamber to the ruelle of his bed, where he said his prayers, as in the morning, then undressed. He said good night with an inclination of the head, and while everybody was leaving the room stood at the corner of the mantlepiece, where he gave the order to the colonel of the guards alone. Then commenced what was called the petit coucher, at which only the specially privileged remained. That was short. They did not leave until he got into bed. It was a moment to speak to him. . . .

READING XXVIII

MERCANTILISM: THE ECONOMIC SIDE OF FRENCH ABSOLUTISM

Mercantilism was a popular economic theory all over Europe in the seventeenth century. To Jean Baptiste Colbert, the finance minister of Louis XIV, mercantilism meant a wide variety of economic measures whose objective was to build up the economic well being of the French state. Colbert thought primarily in terms of the prosperity of France; Louis XIV was mainly interested in the power which would result from economic growth. These two sets of objectives often came in conflict, particularly when the King wanted his resources on wars. Colbert was far too astute, however, to oppose any of his monarch's policies. "Never as long as you live," he wrote to his son who was also in government service, "send out anything in the King's name without his express approval." Nevertheless, Colbert's role as adviser to the King gave him enormous influence in French society.

The documents which follow illustrate many of the aspects of mercantilism and of its relationship to the political system of Louis XIV. Study questions precede each excerpt.

AN EDICT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROYAL TAPESTRY FACTORY, NOVEMBER, 1667 *

Mercantilist policies affected every aspect of French economic life. Among other objectives, Colbert wished to free the French from reliance upon goods made abroad, so he attempted to establish factories in France itself.

1. What was the objective of this edict? What does it reveal about the objectives of Louis' absolute government?
2. How detailed are the regulations? Why?

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* From Thomas C. Mendenhall et al., IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY 800-1715 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962) 321-333.

This edict from Colbert sets the regulations for the tapestry works at Gobelin. Colbert indicates that he has hired a number of tapestry makers who will reside at Gobelin, that the entire works shall be owned by the king, that the administration of the works shall be under Colbert, that the workers shall live in the houses near the factory, that even the breweries shall be attached to the works and strictly regulated by the government.

PLANNING THE ECONOMY: TWO OF COLBERT'S LETTERS *

Many details of mercantilism are revealed in the letters which Colbert sent to his subordinates. The first of the two letters below went to merchants in Marseilles in 1664. The second was sent to the Intendants in 1670. Intendants were administrative officials drawn from the middle classes. Each one controlled a geographic area of France and was directly responsible to the King.

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* From J. H. Robinson, READINGS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY (New York: 1906) Vol. II, pages 279-80.

1. What are the objectives of the council which Louis describes in his letter to the merchants? How is this council related to absolutism generally?

2. What is to be the function of the inspectors described in the letter to the Intendants? What do these regulations reveal about an absolute state?

1. THE PLANNED ECONOMY

A. Letter to the Merchants of Marseilles, 1664 -- Very dear and well beloved: Considering how advantageous it would be to this realm to reestablish its foreign and domestic commerce, . . .we have resolved to establish a council particularly devoted to commerce, to be held every fortnight in our presence, in which all the interests of merchants and the means conducive to the revival of commerce shall be considered and determined upon, as well as all that which concerns manufactures.

We also inform you that we are setting apart, in the expenses of our state, a million livres each year for the encouragement of manufactures and the increase of navigation, to say nothing of the considerable sums which we cause to be raised to supply the companies of East and West Indies;

That we are working constantly to abolish all the tolls which are collected on the navigable rivers;

That there has already been expended more than a million livres for the repair of the public highways, to which we shall devote also our constant attention;

That we will assist by money from our royal treasury all those who wish to reestablish old manufactures or to undertake new ones;

That we are giving orders to all our ambassadors or residents at the courts of the princes, our allies, to make, in our name, all proper efforts to cause justice to be rendered in all cases involving our merchants, and to assure for them entire commercial freedom;

That we will comfortably lodge at our court each and every merchant who has business there during all the time that he shall be obliged to remain there.

B. To the Intendants, 1670 * -- The King, desiring to remedy the abuses which are committed in the. . .manufactures of France. . .had the goodness to have drawn up general regulations and to have them registered in his presence in his parlement of Paris, August 13, 1669. His Majesty has resolved to send inspectors into all the provinces of his kingdom. . .to inform the judges, the merchants, and the workers of his wishes. . . .That is why, on the express order of his Majesty, we have prepared the following directive. . . .Signed, Colbert.

1. The said inspector shall report to Monsieur ______, (intendant) of His Majesty. . . .

2. The said inspector, having received his orders from the intendant, will betake himself immediately to the nearest manufacturing center and consult with the mayor and aldermen;. . .he will ascertain from them if the regulation for manufactures. . .has been registered and published. . . .

3. There will be established a community room in the City Hall. . .where the examiners can see, inspect, and mark the merchandise which will be taken there at set times by the cloth-workers, where they can settle on the spot disputes which might develop because of defects in the said manufactures and instil fear (of the laws) in the minds of the said cloth-workers. . . .And since the merchants have a particular knowledge of the good quality or defects of merchandise, and since it is in their interest that the merchandise be perfect, it will also be necessary that the aldermen elect one of the more prominent merchants to be present at the said inspections and markings. . . .

11. The said inspector will assemble all the . . .(guild) masters in the community room, and will read the said regulation to them (the general regulation concerning textile manufacture of 1669), explaining to them article by article what they must do to carry it out properly, and informing them that if they contravene it that their ruin will surely follow, because their goods will be confiscated and the selvedges torn to bits (causing the cloth to unravel). . . .Do not neglect to inform (the masters) that the goods of the same name, kind, and quality must be uniform throughout the kingdom in length, width, and strength. . . .

18. The said inspector will inform himself. . .of all the important fairs which will be held in his department and will betake himself there. . .to inspect the said merchandise, to see whether it has been marked at the place of manufacture and meets the quality called for by the regulation; if not, to seize and confiscate it and tear the selvedge publicly on the spot. . . . But as it is very important not to disturb the fairs. . .this must be carried out with much prudence. . .on the days and hours most convenient to the sellers and buyers. . . .

* LETTERS, INSTRUCTION, AND MEMOIRS OF COLBERT, ed. by P. Clement (Paris: 1863) Vol. II, pp. 832-37.

27. The said inspectors will give the greatest encouragement to all the masters and cloth-workers. . .to make (their cloth) the most perfect possible in order to strengthen the commerce and manufactures of France and to outstrip foreign competitors. . . .

MERCANTILISM AND FOREIGN POLICY: MEMORANDA OF COLBERT *

The policies of mercantilism had a pronounced effect on foreign policy as well as upon the internal affairs of France. The group of short excerpts which follow focus upon the part played by economics in the relations of France and Holland. Louis XIV hated the proud Protestant merchants of the thriving Dutch republic. He believed that they were trying to arouse Europe against him. Moreover, their staunch middle-class values flew in the face of his theory of divine right.

The reader must understand one aspect of mercantilist theory in order to treat the documents which follow in context. Men believed that the total amount of commerce in the world was limited. A country could not expand economically by increasing its own market independently. Instead it had to seize some of the existing markets of another nation.

1. What are the objectives of these memoranda?
2. How are these memoranda related to the economic side of the absolutist state?

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* From C. W. Cole, COLBERT AND A CENTURY OF FRENCH MERCANTILISM, (New York: 1939) II, 436, 472, 343, 344, 446.

This collection of Colbert's memoranduma and edicts reveals the goals of Colbert, his instructions to the intendants for overseeing the economy of their district, Colbert's theory of international trade, and the competition with Holland.

READING XXIX

DIVINE RIGHT IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Royal absolutism was founded upon the theory of divine right. Although medieval monarchs had also subscribed to the belief that God had predestined certain men to rule and that opposition to them was opposition to God himself, the doctrine of Divine Right was not developed in its modern form until the seventeenth century. Divine Right was the ideology behind absolutism, just as the works of Marx provide an ideology for Communists. This doctrine helped the King to convince himself that he could do no wrong and that all of his subjects should share his beliefs and practices.

The reading below consists of three excerpts about the theory of Divine Right and the application of such a theory to religion. Study questions precede each excerpt.

BISHOP BOSSUET DESCRIBES DIVINE RIGHT THEORY *

Jacques Bossuet was one of France's most prominent churchmen. He was both a learned scholar and an excellent preacher. In 1670 Louis XIV appointed him to be tutor to his son. In order to instruct the heir to the throne about the position he would inherit on Louis' death, Bossuet wrote POLITICS DRAWN FROM THE VERY WORDS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE, a work which has become known as a classic account of Divine Right theory.

1. **How do kings get their power? What evidence does Bossuet give to support his conclusions?**
2. **According to this account, what should a citizen do if he disagrees with a policy of his monarch? What is the function of a citizen living in an absolutist state?**

It appears from all this that the person of the king is sacred, and that to attack him in any way is sacrilege. God has the kings anointed by his prophets with the holy unction in like manner as he has bishops and altars anointed. But even without the external application in thus being anointed, they are by their very office the representatives of the divine majesty deputed by Providence for the execution of purposes. . . .

There is something religious in the respect accorded to a prince. The service of God and the respect for kings are bound together. St. Peter unites these two duties when he says, "Fear God. Honor the King." . . .

But kings, although their power comes from on high, as has been said, should not regard themselves as masters of that power to use it at their pleasure. . . . They must employ it with fear and self-restraint, as a thing coming from God, and of which God will demand an account. . . .

Kings should tremble then as they use the power God has granted them; and let them think how horrible is the sacrilege if they use for evil a power which comes from God. We behold kings seated upon the throne of the Lord, bearing in their hand the sword which God himself has given them. What profanation, what arrogance, for the unjust king to sit on God's throne to render decrees contrary to his laws and to use the sword which God has put in his hand for deeds of violence and to slay his children! . . .

The royal power is absolute. With the aim of making this truth hateful and insufferable many writers have tried to confound absolute government with arbitrary government. But no two things should be more unlike, as we shall show when we come to speak of justice.

*** From Robinson, _op_. _cit_., Vol. II, pp. 274-277.**

The prince need render account of his acts to no one. "I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God. Be not hasty to go out of his sight: stand not on an evil thing for he doeth whatsoever pleaseth him. Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou? Who so keepeth the commandment shall feel no evil thing." Without this absolute authority the king could neither do good nor repress evil. It is necessary that his power be such that no one can hope to escape him, and, finally, the only protection of individuals against the public authority should be their innocence. This conforms with the teaching of St. Paul: "Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good."

I do not call majesty that pomp which surrounds kings or that exterior magnificence which dazzles the vulgar. That is but the reflection of majesty and not majesty itself. Majesty is the image of the grandeur of God in the prince.

God is infinite, God is all. The prince, as prince, is not regarded as a private person: he is a public personage, all the state is in him; the will of all the people is included in his. As all perfection and all strength are united in God, so all the power of individuals is united in the person of the prince. What grandeur that a single man should embody so much!

The power of God makes itself felt in a moment from one extremity of the earth to another. Royal power works at the same time throughout all the realm. It holds all the realm in position, as God holds the earth. Should God withdraw his hand, the earth would fall to pieces; should the king's authority cease in the realm, all would be in confusion.

Look at the prince in his cabinet. Thence go out the orders which cause the magistrates and the captains, the citizens and the soldiers, the provinces and the armies on land and on sea, to work in concert. He is the image of God, who, seated on his throne high in the heavens, makes all nature move. . . .

Finally, let us put together the things so great and so august which we have said about royal authority. Behold an immense people united in a single person; behold this holy power, paternal and absolute; behold the secret cause which governs the whole body of the state, contained in a single head; you see the image of God in the king, and you have the idea of royal majesty. God is holiness itself, goodness itself, and power itself. In these things lies the majesty of God. In the image of these things lies the majesty of the prince.

So great is this majesty that it cannot reside in the prince as in its source; it is borrowed from God, who gives it to him for the good of the people, for whom it is good to be checked by a superior force. Something of divinity itself is attached to princes and inspires fear in the people. The king should not forget this. "I have said,"--and it is God who speaks,--"I have said, Ye are gods; and all of you are children of the Most High. But ye shall die like men, and fall in your authority, and you bear on your forehead, a divine imprint. "You are the children of the Most High"; it is he who has established your power for the good of mankind. But, O gods of flesh and blood, gods of clay and dust, "ye shall die like men, and fall like princes." Grandeur separates men for a little time, but a common fall makes them all equal at the end.

O kings, exercise your power then boldly, for it is divine and salutary for human kind, but exercise it with humility. You are endowed with it from without. At bottom it leaves you feeble, it leaves you mortal, it leaves you sinners, and charges you before God with a very heavy account.

LOUIS XIV REVOKES THE EDICT OF NANTES *

The two excerpts which follow concern the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. In 1598, Henry IV, had granted French Protestants the right to practice their religion without interference from state or church. The Edict of Nantes brought the religious wars between French Catholics and French Protestants (Huguenots) to an end. In succeeding years, Cardinal Richelieu, a minister of Louis XIII, had destroyed the military and political privileges of the Huguenots, but he left them with their civil and religious rights intact.

The first selection below contains passages from the document in which the Edict of Nantes was revoked. The second is again taken from the memoires of the Duke de Saint-Simon who describes the consequences of the revocation in lurid terms. The Madame de Maintenon mentioned by the Duke was Louis' long-time mistress and his second wife. These two documents raise the question of the effectiveness of royal absolutism. The following questions apply to both documents.

1. What conclusions can you draw from Louis' statement that most of the Huguenots had already embraced the Catholic faith? What conclusions from Saint-Simon's description of the King's reaction to the revocation?

2. How does Saint-Simon explain the King's motives? How would you explain them? Who was behind the revocation? What does your conclusion reveal about absolutism?

3. What does this incident imply about the rights of a citizen in an absolutist state? How could an aggrieved Huguenot have gained access to the King?

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* Robinson, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 287-88.

Louis, by the grace of God, king of France, to all present and to come, greeting:

King Henry the Great, our grandfather of glorious memory, being desirous that the peace which he had procured for his subjects after the grievous losses they had sustained in the course of domestic and foreign wars, should not be troubled on account of the R.P.R. (Religion prétendue réformée, "the religion called the Reformed"), as had happened in the reigns of the kings, his predecessors, by his edict, granted at Nantes in the month of April, 1598, regulated the procedure to be adopted with regard to those of the said religion, and the places in which they might meet for public worship, established extraordinary judges to administer justice to them, and, in fine, provided in particular articles for whatever could be thought necessary for maintaining the tranquillity of his kingdom and for diminishing mutual aversion between the members of the two religions, so as to put himself in a better position to labor, as he had resolved to do, for the reunion to the Church of those who had so lightly withdrawn from it. . . .

God having at last permitted that our people should enjoy perfect peace, we. . .are able to profit by this truce (which we ourselves have facilitated), and devote our whole attention to the means of accomplishing the designs of our said grandfather and father, which we have consistently kept before us since our succession to the crown.

And now we perceive, with thankful acknowledgment of God's aid, that our endeavors have attained their proposed end, inasmuch as the better and the greater part of our subjects of the said R.P.R. have embraced the Catholic faith. And since by this fact the execution of the Edict of Nantes and of all that has ever been ordained in favor of the said R.P.R. has been rendered nugatory, we have determined that we can do nothing better, in order wholly to obliterate the memory of the troubles, the confusion, and the evils which the progress of this false religion has caused in this kingdom, and which furnished occasion for the said edict and for so many previous and subsequent edicts and declarations, than entirely to revoke the said Edict of Nantes. . . .

SAINT-SIMON DESCRIBES THE EFFECT OF THE REVOCATION *

Devoutness was her (Madame de Maintenon's) strong point; by that she governed and held her place. She found a King who believed himself an apostle, because he had all his life persecuted heresy, or what was presented to him as such. This indicated to her with what grain she could sow the field most profitably.

*** Saint-Simon, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 12-14.**

The profound ignorance in which the King had been educated and kept all his life, rendered him from the first an easy prey to the Jesuits. He became even more so with years, when he grew devout, for he was devout with the grossest ignorance. Religion became his weak point. In this state it was easy to persuade him that a decisive and tremendous blow struck against the Protestants would give his name more grandeur than any of his ancestors had acquired, besides strengthening his power and increasing his authority. Madame de Maintenon was one of those who did most to make him believe this.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, without the slightest pretext of necessity, and the various proscriptions that followed it, were the fruits of a frightful plot, in which the new wife was one of the chief conspirators, and which depopulated a quarter of the realm, ruined its commerce, weakened it in every direction, gave it up for a long time to the public and avowed pillage of the dragoons, authorized torments and punishments by which so many innocent people of both sexes were killed by thousands; ruined a numerous class; tore in pieces a world of families; armed relatives against relatives, so as to seize their property and leave them to die of hunger; banished our manufactures to foreign lands, made those lands flourish and overflow at the expense of France, and enabled them to build new cities; gave to the world the spectacle of a prodigious population proscribed, stripped, fugitive, wandering, without crime, and seeking shelter far from its country; sent to the galleys, nobles, rich old men, people much esteemed for their piety, learning, and virtue, people well off, weak, delicate, and solely on account of religion; in fact, to heap up the measure of horror, filled all the realm with perjury and sacrilege, in the midst of the echoed cries of these unfortunate victims of error, while so many others sacrificed their conscience to their wealth and their repose, and purchased both by simulated abjuration, from which without pause they were dragged to adore what they did not believe in, and to receive the divine body of the Saints while remaining persuaded that they were only eating bread which they ought to abhor! . . .

The King received from all sides news and details of these persecutions and of these conversions. It was by thousands that those who had abjured and taken the communion were counted; ten thousand in one place; six thousand in another,--all at once and instantly. The King congratulated himself on his power and his piety. He believed himself to have renewed the days of the preaching of the Apostles, and attributed to himself all the honor. The bishops wrote panegyrics of him, the Jesuits made the pulpit resound with his praises. All France was filled with horror and confusion; and yet there never was so much triumph and joy--never such profusion of laudations! The monarch doubted not of the sincerity of this crowd of conversions; the converters took good care to persuade him of it and beatify him beforehand. He swallowed their poison in long draughts. He had never yet believed himself so great in the eyes of man, or so advanced in the eyes of God, in the reparation of his sins and of the scandals of his life. . . .

READING XXX

LOUIS XIV: THE ANATOMY OF ABSOLUTISM

In 1643 Louis XIV became king of France as a boy of five. He took complete control of the affairs of state in 1661. For the next half century he dominated the European political and social scene. "L'Etat c'est moi" (I am the state), he is said to have boasted in a particularly expansive moment. This phrase catches the spirit of the age in which the modern state was born, a time when the personal rule of the King and the wider interests of the national state seemed identical.

The seventeenth century saw the refinement of a political system--the absolute state--whose roots were buried deep in the history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Great Britain the men who believed in representative government waged a bitter and successful struggle against the royal power. This struggle shifted the focus of control from the King to an elite group in Parliament; it did not, however, decrease the growing power of the centralized state. In France both the power of the state and the personal control of the monarch grew throughout the century.

The modern state differs from earlier political units because it is sovereign. Sovereignty involves supreme political power or authority. In the seventeenth century sovereign states tried to accumulate more power. They sought to gain this power in two ways: by using all the resources available to them in order to obtain exclusive control over a certain land area and the people who lived there and by influencing the actions of other states while remaining independent of their control. There were, of course, limits to the power a state could accumulate. Internally long established customs and laws restrained the power of the King. Externally the might of other states stood in the way. But despite these barriers, seventeenth century states did increase their powers steadily.

To justify their arbitrary actions, the monarchs of the seventeenth century supported the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. An English king, James I, best stated this theory. "The State of Monarchie is the supremest thing upon earth," he announced in 1609. "Kings are justly called Gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of Divine power upon earth." Louis XIV, however, best personified the theory in practice. The Divine Right theory stressed that the king held his power directly from God who had chosen him and his family to rule over a part of mankind in His name. The person of the king was accordingly, sacred and an attack on his rule the same as an attack on God. This theory was the ideological basis for absolutist rule.

The notion of the Divine Right of Kings was not new. Medieval kings had also been considered representatives of God on earth. Much of the struggle between Church and State in the Middle Ages had revolved around attempts by kings to get popes to accept this point of view. As we have seen, the lay rulers were victorious in this struggle. By the seventeenth century the Church, Protestant and Catholic alike, was almost universally subject to royal authority. Divine Right theory was especially attractive to the rulers of the day because it raised their prestige and made serious opposition to their autocratic rule extremely difficult. Only God could judge the king and His judgments were likely to be deferred to the next world.

All men in the seventeenth century did not accept the Divine Right theory. Even in France, Divine Right was more a convenient answer for the existing power of the king than a universally-held conviction that God had somehow or other gone out of His way to endow Louis with special authority. The French crown had actually gained its power in a long struggle with the nobility. This struggle reached its climax in the years following the Protestant Reformation. Louis' grandfather, Henry IV (1589-1610), the first of the Bourbon family to sit on the French throne, had ended a generation of bloody civil strife in which noble opposition to central authority was almost impossible to separate from religious rebellion. By the Edict of Nantes in 1598 Henry IV granted the French Protestants the right to practice their own religious worship and to fortify certain towns as a guarantee of their freedom. These French Protestants were known as Huguenots. They numbered well over a million in a total French population of some 16,000,000 and comprised a large share of the industrious commercial middle classes. To religious peace Henry added political peace and administrative reform. The nobles were pacified for the time being, the tax system changed to encourage economic enterprise, and real progress was made toward the King's pledge of "a chicken in every Frenchman's pot."

Louis XIII was only a nine year old boy when he succeeded Henry IV in 1610. During most of his reign, Cardinal Richelieu controlled the timid and mediocre monarch. Richelieu began to build up the state and to destroy the fortifications of the Huguenot towns. He also intervened widely in general European affairs in the interest of France. Richelieu and Louis XIII died within a few months of each other in 1643 and Louis XIV came to the throne at the age of five. Another churchman, Cardinal Mazarin, became the chief minister. Despite troubles with nobles intent upon whittling down the power of the crown, Mazarin left a powerful and united country upon his death in 1661.

Mazarin died suddenly and it was generally expected that the young king (he was twenty-three), who until then had shown no interest in affairs of state, would appoint another chief minister to rule in his name. Instead Louis summoned the members of the council of state to his apartments and announced that he would henceforth manage his own affairs. "You will assist me with your advice, gentlemen, when I ask for it," he told his disappointed and skeptical lieutenants. "I order you to sign nothing, not even a passport, without my command." What the courtiers considered a young man's passing whim turned out to be the beginning of fifty-three years of personal rule.

Louis justified the rule by Divine Right. "The prince, as prince, is not to be regarded as a private person: he is a public personage, all the state is in him; the will of all the people is included in his." Louis, like other rulers of his time, regarded the nation as his personal estate and its inhabitants as obedient children who would carry out the royal commands without question. Divine Right, at the same time, involved certain responsibilities on the part of the monarch. The king had to live up to his image. He had to play the role of God's representative on earth in a fitting manner, remote but all-seeing, dignified but gracious, glorious but just.

Louis XIV filled this role to perfection. He was every inch a king. He wore clothing which emphasized his regal office, flowing cloaks, high-heeled shoes and broad-brimmed hats with waving ostrich plumes. He began the practice of wearing a wig, not the powdered wig of the eighteenth century but a massive creation of dark hair piled high on the head and extending in rows of curls over the shoulders. His court was provided the proper background. The special symbol of this majesty was the sun, the source of light and life, which Louis made his personal emblem. Flatterers called him the "Sun King" and he did nothing to discourage the flattery. Instead he delighted in surrounding himself with representations, paintings and tapestries of Apollo, the Greek sun god. Often, curiously enough, the face of Apollo bore a striking resemblance to Louis XIV.

Richelieu and Mazarin had broken the independent power of the French nobility. Louis went further: he made it practically impossible for them to live apart from the court. The noble who wished to be politically influential had to be near the king who assigned all important political offices. The noble who sought social position could find it only at the brilliant court. The noble who needed any sort of special favor was dependent on the king's good will. "Out of sight out of mind" was the sorry fate of many a great nobleman. One of Louis' favorite punishments for some minor misdemeanor was to "exile" a man to his provincial estate to languish bored with dull country life.

It was important that the nobles have access to the king. This access was provided by the development of a rigid court etiquette. The royal day was carefully scheduled from the moment the king arose until he retired. Certain nobles had the privilege of handing the king his washcloth, his trousers, his wig. Others were merely allowed in the bedroom or in one of the various reception rooms. Special receptions, called levees, were held daily during which a noble could hope for a word with the monarch. The king was always under the public eye of his courtiers, whether at dinner, at the palace theater, or on his afternoon promenade. Ordinary citizens, however, could not gain access to the king at all.

Formality and ceremony were essential to the cult of majesty. The publicity which surrounded the daily life of the king was actually not much less than that which surrounds the American presidential family. But there was one significant difference. It chiefly concerned the relation between the king and the nobility, shorn of its political power but compensated by almost unlimited social prestige. The king was remote from the general public, although respectable citizens could travel to the palace and view the royal family at meals from a visitor's gallery. The palace itself provided an apt setting for the attributes of aloof grandeur which were part and parcel of absolutism.

Since it was difficult to preserve the image of a reserved and remote "Sun King" amid the hurly-burly of a large city, Louis moved his court from Paris to Versailles, which was twelve miles outside the city and had once been a hunting lodge belonging to his father. Here in the 1660's the king began a building program which extended throughout his reign and resulted in a vast complex of magnificent palaces surrounded by splendid gardens and woods. Versailles became the model on which countless other continental palaces were based. The living and working quarters of the king occupied only a small portion of the main building whose classical facade stretched out for over a quarter mile. The palace also contained great ceremonial halls of which the most famous was called the Gallery of Mirrors. Actually, however, the bulk of the palace consisted of hundreds of apartments needed to house the ever-present courtiers. Gilded furniture, finely-woven tapestries and thousands of paintings adorned the rooms.

The very act of building Versailles was an example of Louis' attitude toward his position in the nation. The site lay in a dry, sandy area unsuited to accommodate the large number of people who would have to assemble there. His engineers advised the king to choose a more favorable location. Instead, two decades of expensive experimentation produced a network of drainage canals which brought water from areas a hundred miles away and permitted the king not only to have his palace at the spot he had ordained but also to decorate it with some 1400 fabulous fountains and a "Grand Canal."

For many at the court of Louis XIV life was a constant round of pleasure and intrigue. The nobles became social parasites without public responsibilities. They were even exempt from the payment of taxes. For himself, on the other hand, the Sun King set stringent demands. The central figure in the spectacular world of Versailles was an extremely hard-working man whose days were taken up with the details of government and the endless tiring demands of court etiquette. Socially he was surrounded by the nobility. For the practical matter of administering the government of France, however, Louis selected able representatives of the middle classes who were dependent on him for future social and political advancement and hence labored in the royal interest alone. Political advancement, however, did not bring with it elevation to the social elite. Middle class administrators were never accepted as equals at the court.

The government functioned in a framework of committees which met frequently. The king almost always presided. The most important committee was the

Council of State in which policy was discussed and advice given. No vote was ever taken and only the king could make the final decision. Such decisions were sent by the royal ministers to provincial officials who were appointed by the king. These officials, called intendants, had great power for they directly represented the royal will. The intendants controlled other local officials. Such groups as town councils or provincial organizations of nobility, which claimed special rights based on tradition and ancient charters, were helpless against them since appeal from their decrees was ultimately decided by the supreme judge, the king himself. The intertwining of king and state in this manner succeeded so thoroughly in establishing the authority of the central government that France has remained a strongly centralized state to the present day. Centralized decision-making by one individual characterized seventeenth century absolutism.

The key to the success of Louis in increasing the power of the state at the expense of feudal elements lay in the support given to the government by the growing middle classes (French: bourgeoisie). The merchants and businessmen of France recognized the superior efficiency and advantages of centralized government. Louis XIV made the most of such middle class sentiment. He utilized the talents of the bourgeoisie in his government and issued legislation which would profit the middle class and at the same time increase the prosperity, power, and glory of France. Louis' most notable bourgeois minister was Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683). Colbert organized the entire economic life of France to serve the interests of the state. New industries were established and protected by tariffs. Established industries were issued specific standards of quality and closely inspected. Enterprises considered important to the state were granted monopolies and subsidies. Internal communications were greatly improved; roads and canals were built and river channels widened. A large navy was constructed to protect French commerce abroad.

An enormous amount of planning was required to achieve Colbert's goals. His name is closely associated with the concept of mercantilism by which a country attempted to achieve a favorable balance of trade. Narrowly defined, a favorable balance of trade meant more exports than imports achieved by selling more abroad than one purchased. Colbert saw that such a balance could only be secured if French agriculture and manufactures could compete with those of other nations, if the French had a sizeable merchant marine, if internal transportation costs could be decreased, and if French colonies could be established in India and North America to provide a monopoly of markets and sources of raw materials. All these objectives he achieved with the active support of his king. And yet they failed. To Louis, fiscal reform, mercantilistic planning and even general economic prosperity were all simply means to an end: his personal power and military glory.

The income procured by Colbert's policies was poured into the glitter of Versailles and into the creation of a modern army and navy. The French army numbered 100,000 in peacetime (a tremendous figure for the seventeenth century) and reached four times that number at the height of Louis' wars.

It was well equipped and superbly trained, the most efficient military force in Europe. Louis used it steadily; France was engaged in war for more than half of his reign. Louis' grand goal was to obtain the so-called "natural boundaries" of France, the Pyrenees Mountains to the south and the Alps and the Rhine River to the east and north. Tens of thousands of Italians, Germans, Belgians and Dutch lived within these areas. Hence most European nations became involved in war to prevent France from seizing them.

Alarmed at French expansion, particularly along the Channel coast in Flanders and Holland, England assumed leadership of the opposition to Louis. The fighting spread beyond Europe to the British and French colonies in Asia, the West Indies and North America. Louis XIV lacked a sense of moderation; ambitious and self-infatuated, he waged war on a scale that eventually exhausted even his mighty army. The territories he won for France were hardly worth the financial expense, the loss of life, and the economic depression which resulted.

Typical of the disastrous acts to which uncurbed absolutism could lead was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The fact that some million of his subjects were Protestant offended the vanity of the Divine Right monarch. Disregarding the solemn promises of his grandfather, Henry IV, and ignoring the economic consequences of persecuting the industrious middle-class Huguenots, Louis was only interested in suppressing a group of subjects who were bold enough to differ on a fundamental issue from their august master. As a result hundreds of thousands of Protestants fled the country and took with them skills and possessions which France could ill afford to lose.

The last years of Louis' long reign were tragic. Outwardly Versailles was as magnificent as ever, and the king had the satisfaction of making good his grandson's claim to the Spanish throne. But France had been drained of a great deal of her strength. Taxes had skyrocketed and income had shriveled. "The King was but little regretted," a courtier wrote matter-of-factly of the Sun King's death in 1715. And yet in spite of its failures the reign remains an historical landmark vividly exemplifying the theories and ideals, the achievements and shortcomings of absolute monarchy.

Royal absolutism was not the same as modern totalitarianism. Both Hitler and the rulers of the Soviet Union had at their command a host of techniques for the control of man unavailable to the Sun King. Modern weapons give totalitarian rulers virtually complete control over their subjects. Who can resist a tank with a pitchfork? Modern methods of communication help rulers to control the minds of men. What is one lone voice raised against batteries of loud speakers? Modern economies provide a firm financial base for centralized power. How can the individual raise funds to compete with the state? If Louis had possessed the resources of Stalin, he would probably have used them to attain his goals, but he did not have them. Modern technology which can produce history's greatest blessings for mankind can also be used to crush the individual whose development has been the goal of western man since the Golden Age of Greece.

UNIT VIII

THE BIRTH OF SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT

Stating the Issue

We live today in a world of nuclear energy, automation, computers, space travel, anti-biotics and countless other scientific achievements. The work of the scientist profoundly influences our lives. We can live more comfortably, communicate more efficiently, travel more quickly, and kill more effectively than ever before. Our scientific skills will get better at an ever increasing rate. Only one hundred years ago Americans were crossing the continent in the same way the Romans moved about the Mediterranean world 2,000 years before. In the last one hundred years, however, scientific advancement has perfected the railroad, and developed the automobile, the propeller driven aircraft, the jet plane and the space rocket. Scientific thought has resulted in tremendous technological advance which has given man the potential for revolutionizing every aspect of his existence.

Scientific thought has also influenced man's political, social, and ideological world. Modern man relies on the scientific model for his investigations in areas quite different from the physical world. Social scientists and historians study society scientifically; business men devise scientific management practices; and literary scholars scientifically study literature with computers. Just as scientists worked to discover natural laws of the universe, political theorists worked to discover natural laws of society and to write constitutions based upon them.

In marked contrast to the ancient and medieval world, the modern world is scientific. To a great extent, this scientific context derives from the revolution in thought that took place in the seventeenth century. Modern science owes its heritage to the first tentative steps taken by those "natural philosophers" three hundred years ago. The readings that follow are designed to help you discover the nature of this new way of thinking, the reasons that it developed when and where it did, and the significance of the revolution. As you study this unit keep in mind the following questions: What was revolutionary about the scientific revolution? Why did the revolution take place in Europe in the seventeenth century? What is the significance of the revolution for the development of western society?

READING XXXI

MEDIEVAL SCIENCE

Just as the Renaissance, the development of Parliament, and Louis XIV's absolutism have their beginnings in the Middle Ages, much of the early spade work of modern science was done in medieval times. The popular conception that learning and innovation ceased in the Middle Ages is quite inaccurate, as Unit IV demonstrated. Nonetheless, the pace of scientific advance was not nearly so accelerated in the medieval period as it was in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the way in which scientific investigations were carried out in the Middle Ages differed greatly from the methods of scientists in the 1600's.

Considering the frequency of discoveries about the physical world and the changes in the methods men used to make those discoveries, a revolution in scientific thought did occur in the seventeenth century. The dimensions and character of that revolution can not be adequately understood, however, without some knowledge of medieval science.

Reading XXXI contains selections that reveal the nature of science in the Middle Ages. From this reading you should be able to construct a general picture of the nature and scope of medieval scientific knowledge and methodology. Consider the following questions as you read:

1. What sort of men were the medieval scientists? How did they make their discoveries?

2. What did medieval men consider the best sources of truth? What were the supreme authorities? What faith did they place in observation? in reason?

3. What was the purpose of scientific knowledge? Was it used to make life easier and more comfortable? Or was it used for other purposes?

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS ON THE SOURCE OF TRUTH *

In the thirteenth century the churchman St. Thomas Aquinas combined the wisdom of the Greeks and sacred doctrine of the Church into a massive book called the SUMMA THEOLOGICA. The first article of this great work deals with the source of truth as he and the medieval scholastics understood it.

* From St. Thomas Aquinas, SUMMA THEOLOGICA, translated by the Fathers of the Dominican Province (London: Benziger Brothers, 1911) I, 1-2.

This selection reveals simultaneously the method of argument used by Aquinas and his justifications of the need for theology to explain things that cannot be explained by philosophical science.

ARISTOTLE AND MEDIEVAL SCIENCE *

Toward the end of the twelfth century, the writings of Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher, were rediscovered and translated into Latin. The respect the medieval mind had for the ancient Greek is revealed in the following paragraph written by the Arab, Averroës, who was instrumental in introducing western Europe to Aristotle.

Aristotle was the wisest of the Greeks and constituted and completed logic, physics, and metaphysics. I say that he constituted these sciences, because all the works on these subjects previous to him do not deserve to be mentioned and were completely eclipsed by his writings. I say that he put the finishing touches on these sciences, because none of those who have succeeded him up to our time, to wit, during nearly fifteen hundred years, have been able to add anything to his writings or find in them any error of any importance. Now that all this should be found in one man is a strange and miraculous thing, and this privileged being deserves to be called divine rather than human.

* From James Harvey Robinson, READINGS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY, (Ginn and Company, Boston: 1904) I, 456.

A MEDIEVAL SCIENTIST ON THE BEHAVIOR OF WATER *

The following selection from an eleventh century scientific treatise shows how a medieval scientist explained a natural phenomenon. The selection is particularly valuable since it demonstrates how medieval man explained his observations.

* From M. Muller, ed., QUAESTIONES NATURALES, (Münster, 1924).

This selection reveals the medieval method of reasoning. It is a dialogue between Adelard and his nephew regarding the reasons for salt in sea water. Adelard explains it in a circulation of water through underground streams between the ocean and the sources of rivers.

A COMPENDIUM OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE *

This selection is taken from the massive work of Alexander of Neckam, ON THE NATURES OF THINGS, which was written at the end of the twelfth century. Neckam tried to compile all of the scientific knowledge of the world and indicate to what uses this knowledge could be put.

The eagle, . . .on account of its great heat, mixeth very cold stones with its eggs when it sitteth on them, so that the heat shall not destroy them. In the same way our words, when we speak with undue heat, should later be tempered with discretion, so that we may conciliate in the end those whom we offended by the beginning of our speech.

The wren is but a little bird, yet it glories in the number of its progeny. Who has not wondered to hear a note of such volume proceeding from so trifling a body? The smaller the body, indeed, the greater the sound, it would seem. By such things we are taught that the virtues of little things should not be scorned. . . . They say, moreover, that when the body of the wren is put upon the spit and placed before the fire it need not be turned, for the wren will turn itself, not forgetful of its royal dignity.

The stratagem by which, according to a fabulous story, it gained the royal power among birds is well known. The birds had agreed among themselves that the glory of the supreme power should be allotted to the one who should excel all others by flying highest. The wren seized its opportunity and hid itself under the eagle's wing. When the eagle, who attains nearest to Jove's gates, would have claimed the supremacy among its fellows, the little wren sallied forth and perching on the eagle's head declared itself the victor. And so it obtained its name of Regulus (i.e. "ruler").

This fable touches those who enter upon the works of others and presumptously appropriate the credit due elsewhere. As the philosopher says, "We are all like dwarfs standing upon giants' shoulders." We should therefore be careful to ascribe to our predecessors those things which we ought not to claim for our own glory, and not follow the example of that wren which, with little or no effort of its own, claimed to have outdone the eagle.

. . . . . .

The sailors, as they sail over the sea, when in cloudy weather they can no longer profit by the light of the sun, or when the world is wrapped in the darkness of night, and they are ignorant whither the ship's course is directed, touch a needle to the magnet; the needle will then whirl around in a circle until, when its motion ceases, its point is directed to the north.

*** Robinson, _op_. _cit_., I, 439-40.**

READING XXXII

THE WORLD OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SCIENTISTS

Scientific discoveries never take place in a vacuum. Scientists live in a world which sometimes promotes and sometimes inhibits their work. In mid-nineteenth century England, Charles Darwin found tremendous resistance to his work from organized religion while in the 1930's Albert Einstein, finding Hitler's Germany ill-disposed toward Jews--even Jews who were geniuses--found the United States an accommodating environment for his mathematical mind.

Scientists must live in a world that supports and encourages them if they are to make significant achievements. Somehow society must see that they get enough money to buy food and must be willing to accept and adapt to the changes that the scientist will bring.

The selections in this reading give you evidence for reconstructing the world of the seventeenth century scientists. Try to answer the following questions from the reading.

1. To what extent did the seventeenth century scientists find themselves in an intellectual environment that would accept their findings?

2. How did the society support the seventeenth century scientists?

3. What was the prevailing philosophy of the age that the scientists were working in? Did this philosophy contradict the ideas of the scientists or did it contain the seeds of the new discoveries? How did the scientists attempt to overcome prevailing ideas when this was needed?

4. The seventeenth century was also the age of Louis XIV, the age of parliamentary ascendancy in Great Britain, and the end of the Renaissance. How would these movements create conditions which would promote scientific advancement? How would they inhibit it?

MEDIEVAL ASTRONOMY *

The following selection reveals how medieval man understood the organization of the universe. This passage is taken from an Anglo-Saxon treatise of the tenth century.

On the second day God made the heaven, which is called the firmament, which is visible and corporeal; and yet we may never see it, on account of its great elevation and the thickness of the clouds, and on account of the weakness of our eyes. The heaven incloses in its bosom all the world, and it ever turns about us, swifter than any mill-wheel, all as deep under this earth as it is above. It is all round and entire and studded with stars. 1/

Truly the sun goes by God's command between heaven and earth, by day above and by night under the earth. She is ever running about the earth, and so light shines under the earth by night as it does above our heads by day. . . . The sun is very great: as broad she is, from what books say, as the whole compass of the earth; but she appears to us very small, because she is very far from our sight. Everything, the further it is, the less it seems. . . . The moon and all the stars receive light from the great sun. The sun is typical of our Saviour, Christ, who is the sun of righteousness, as the bright stars are typical of the believers in God's congregation, who shine in good converse. . . .No one of us has any light of goodness except by the grace of Christ, who is called the sun of true righteousness. . . .

ROGER BACON ON METHOD **

One of the brightest scientific lights on the medieval horizon was the churchman Roger Bacon. An English friar, Bacon was not content to accept only the statements of the Church fathers and Aristotle as the supreme authorities. In the following selection he explains how he went about probing the mysteries of the physical world.

*** Robinson, op. cit., I, 441.**

1/ Educated persons realized all through the Middle Ages that the earth was a sphere.

**** From Robert Belle Burke, trans. THE OPUS MAJUS OF ROGER BACON, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928), II, 583.**

This selection sets out Bacon's empirical principles. Bacon states that reasoning is not enough. Only experience, he says, will reveal the truth.

GALILEO'S DIFFICULTIES WITH THE CHURCH

Galileo Galilei was an Italian scientist who challenged the propositions of Aristotle which had long been the accepted ideas of Europeans. The following two selections chronicle the difficulties he encountered by making these challenges.

A. A Letter to a Duchess *

* From A. E. McKenzie, MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS OF SCIENCE, (Cambridge, England: 1960) II, 8.

In this letter to the Duchess, Galileo tells of the efforts of the church fathers to destroy his work. He says that they have used the argument that his theories are contrary to the Bible, but he answers them by stating that the Biblical passages merely are myths for the "common herd."

B. Galileo Writes His Patron **

The following letter from Galileo to Cosimo de Medici provides a clue as to how Galileo supported himself and was able to continue his investigation in the face of opposition.

** From Stillman Drake, DISCOVERIES AND OPINIONS OF GALILEO, (New York, Doubleday, 1957) 24-25.

In this letter to Cosimo de Medici Galileo writes of his discoveries and butters up his patron by promising to name one of Jupiter's moons after him.

A TIMELY INVENTION ***

The following account chronicles news of a new invention as it reached Cologne in Germany. The author of the article is quick to see the invention's implications. What implication do you see for the world of the seventeenth century scientist?

The eternal God has out of his unfathomable wisdom brought into existence the laudable art, by which men now print books, and multiply them so greatly that every man may for himself read or hear read the way of salvation. . . .

Item although the art is found at Mainz as aforesaid in the manner as it is now generally used, yet the first prefiguration is found in Holland out of the Donatuses which were in that very (country) printed before that time. And from and out of them was taken the beginning of the aforesaid art. And it is found much more masterly and subtilely (sic.) than that same manner was and the longer (it was practiced) the more skillful it became. . . . The first inventor of printing was a burgher at Mainz, and he was born at

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*** "Chronicle of Cologne," 1499, from H. E. Hodgkin, RARIORA, Vol. II, THE DAWN OF TYPOGRAPHY (London: 1901), p. 231.

Strassburg, and named Johan Gutenburg. Item from Mainz the aforesaid art came first of all to Cologne, then to Strassburg, and thereafter to Venice. The beginning and development of the aforesaid art was told me by word of mouth by the honorable man Master Ulrich Zell of Hanau, still, Anno 1490, a printer at Cologne by whome the aforesaid art came to Cologne.

COPERNICUS DESCRIBES HIS FRAME OF REFERENCE *

The following selection is Copernicus' dedication of his REVOLUTIONS OF THE CELESTIAL ORBS. In it he explains his intellectual frame of reference from which he and the other seventeenth century scientists took off on their revolution. What is there about his frame of reference which promoted his scientific endeavors? What about it could conceivably inhibit his work?

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* From A. E. McKenzie, MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS OF SCIENCE, (Cambridge, England: 1960) 5-6.

This selection is the famous prologue from Copernicus' Revolutions of the Celestial Orbs. In it Copernicus explains that he read all of the works of the early astronomers, that he was unsatisfied by the complexity of their system, that he believed God would have designed a simpler system, and that he took the liberty to develop his heliocentric system because the church had allowed others before him to tamper with the conception of the universe.

READING XXXIII

THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

What we call the scientific revolution began in 1543 with the publication of Copernicus' monumental book about the nature of the solar system. What was revolutionary about Copernicus' work was not so much the theory he proposed but the method by which he arrived at his theory. Copernicus and Galileo and the other sixteenth and seventeenth century scientists ushered in a brand new way of looking at the world. This new method, they realized, would unleash unlimited potential for controlling and using the physical environment.

In the readings that follow, the scientists explain the methods they used to arrive at their conclusions. They also give their conception of what these new ways of thinking will mean to mankind. As you read, keep in mind the following questions.

1. How would you describe the methods used by the scientists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?
2. What is revolutionary about the ways in which these men thought about the physical world? How is their way of thinking different from that of ancient and medieval times?
3. What is their conception of what their new methods will mean for the future of mankind?
4. How have these men shaped your own frame of reference?

RENE DESCARTES ON METHOD *

Rene Descartes was a French philosopher who was living in Geneva to escape the difficulties of war when he developed his theories on how man might obtain certainty. The following selection is his description of that method.

* From A. E. McKenzie, MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS OF SCIENCE, (Cambridge, England: 1960) 47-48.

In this selection Descartes sets out his rationalist philosophy, including his skepticism, his analysis of problems, his rationalistic deductive approach, and his attempt at thoroughness of propositions.

FRANCIS BACON ON METHOD **

Francis Bacon was a minister to Queen Elizabeth of England and was profoundly impressed by the work of the scientists of his age. The following selection is his description of how the scientist works. How do his views differ from those of medieval scientists? from Descartes?

** From Raymond P. Stearns, PAGEANT OF EUROPE (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961) 69-70.

This selection reveals Francis Bacon's method of investigation which joins experience and reason to develop knowledge of how the natural world functions.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON ON METHOD

Sir Isaac Newton was the greatest of all physical scientists in terms of his contribution to knowledge. He formulated laws concerning motion, gravity, light and energy and he developed a new branch of mathematics, calculus, to aid him in his work. (Spinoza, working independently also developed calculus at about the same time.) Here, he describes the method whereby he developed his natural laws.

The Principia ***

*** From A. E. McKenzie, MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS OF SCIENCE, (Cambridge, England: 1960) 23.

In this selection Sir Isaac Newton states that he begins first with a hypothesis, rationally developed, and then tests this hypothesis against observed phenomena, proceeding then to the statement of a general theory.

The OPTICKS *

* From Sir Isaac Newton, OPTICKS in GREAT BOOKS OF THE WESTERN WORLD, (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952) XXXIV, 543.

In this selection Newton further elaborates on the use of experiment to induce general principles of the operation of the universe.

THE PROMETHEAN VISION OF LEIBNIZ **

> Leibniz was one of the seventeenth century scientists who foresaw great changes as a result of the discoveries of his contemporaries. In this remarkable passage, written in 1675, he predicts what an exposition in the future might be like.

** From Philip Weiner, LEIBNIZ SELECTIONS (New York: Scribners, 1958) 581-593 *passim*.

In this selection Leibniz imagines a world's fair of the future where all scientific and technological discoveries are on display. Leibniz's exposition includes all the modern aspects of the world's fairs, including a midway where freaks and artists are on display.

READING XXXIV

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The seventeenth century was the age of Louis XIV, the vain French monarch who kept Europe in turmoil for over two generations. It was also the age of the scientific revolution. Everywhere scientists discarded the old certainties about the universe and the physical world. In terms of lasting contributions, the modern world owes more to the quiet work of the seventeenth century scientists than it does to the pompous struttings of the "Sun King."

Man does not pursue the quest for knowledge of the physical world in a vacuum. The social setting profoundly influences the evolution of scientific knowledge. Science is not the work of lonely geniuses; it is a social activity. Therefore, the history of science must include the entire history of the age. It is important to know how the "Age of Louis XIV" influenced the seventeenth century scientists. It is also important to know what impact the scientist had on the times in which he lived.

Indeed, the seventeenth century did witness a "scientific revolution." The pace of discovery quickened; each decade produced greater advances in insight and understanding than had been reached in the past by centuries of hard work. But the revolution was limited. The seventeenth century scientists initiated the "modern" epoch in astronomy, physics, mathematics, and medicine. Comparable revolutions in chemistry and biology were to wait 150 years of slow groping for new ideas and techniques, some of which may be traced to the seventeenth century. Nonetheless this age gave us an inventory of accomplishment that is without parallel in any previous time and set the stage for the even more rapid pace of scientific advancement in our own day.

The new vision of nature, God and man brought about in the seventeenth century was made possible by profound changes taking place in many other areas of thought and action. In the first place, the sixteenth century European world fell heir to the learning of antiquity preserved and transmitted by Islam. Secondly, mariners of the period had on their own initiative carried out the exploration of the globe by a series of voyages. Columbus, de Gama, and Cabot shattered the medieval image of the finite world. In addition, Luther, Calvin and Zwingli had successfully challenged the medieval religious order. Finally, the old static society that had arisen on the ruins of the Roman Empire and which had been held together by feudal authorities was yielding to the boundless physical and intellectual energies of a new breed of man. These generations, recovering the almost forgotten Greek humanism, set out to create a new social order no longer based on tradition but on the new ideas of nationalism, individualism, and secularism.

Revolution was part of the heritage of the men of the seventeenth century. Their economy, no longer based upon self-sufficient rural life, expanded rapidly. The creative energies which produced da Vinci, Michelangelo, Rabelais, and Shakespeare were no longer pent up by monasteries or provincial limits.

Already in the sixteenth century, and even before, acute critics of the traditional sciences had challenged the truth of accepted opinion. Furthermore, the experimental activities of the thirteenth century Franciscan friar, Roger Bacon, had never been completely forgotten. On the other hand, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were periods of immense bigotry and intolerance. Only a few people shared in the new learning; only a minority of the old elites of church and university favored the spread of unorthodox ideas. This was, after all, the age of the religious wars and the very height of the witchburning mania which swept all of Europe. Furthermore, the most important humanists of the epoch were not too interested in problems of science and tended to be hostile to its empirical methods.

Despite the forces working aginst scientific advancement, the revolution began in the late sixteenth century in the mind of the conservative Roman churchman, Nicolaus Copernicus. Copernicus had studied the astronomical system described by the Alexandrian philosopher, Ptolemy, around 150 A.D. Ptolemy had developed a complicated astronomy based on the theory that the earth was the center of the universe. According to his theory, all of the planets and stars, the sun and the moon revolved about the earth which remained stationary. But they did not move in simple circles. Rather they moved by a complicated system of circles within circles, doubling back on themselves at times, and then reversing their courses.

Copernicus found the ancient astronomy inadequate on several counts. First, he could not believe that God would have put together such a cumbersome piece of heavenly clockwork as the Ptolemaic system presupposed. Furthermore, he knew that some of the calculations derived from Ptolemy's work did not conform to the observed positions of the heavenly bodies. Inspired, one might say, by a belief in the mathematical simplicity of the heavens, the devout Copernicus studied the records of the heliocentric system advocated by Aristarchus of Samos in the third century B.C. This astronomer claimed that the earth had a double motion, the daily rotation about an axis, and an annual orbit around the sun. Copernicus now adopted a modification of this ancient system and proclaimed it to the learned world in a printed volume, De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium, in 1543.

The publication of Copernicus' work originally caused hardly a ripple in the learned world. But some sixteenth century thinkers did react violently. Luther denounced Copernicus as a "fool who would overturn all of Astronomy." The humanists were largely indifferent. Melanchthon, a leading representative of German humanism, wrote: "The eyes are witness that the heavens revolve in the space of twenty-four hours. But certain men either from the love of novelty, or to make a display of ingenuity, have concluded that the earth moves and that neither the eighth sphere nor the sun revolves."

The opposition to Copernicus' scheme was somewhat justified. He clung to the idea that the planets revolved about the sun in fixed orbits and at uniform speed. Because of his adherence to this ancient idea, Copernicus failed to predict the location of the heavenly spheres with much more reliability than the followers of Ptolemy. Furthermore, sixteenth century man found it difficult to accept the notion that the solid earth was moving at great velocity through the heavens.

Despite these difficulties, Copernicus' scheme was adopted rapidly by many of the learned men of the day. The busy printing presses soon spread the theory of the moving earth to all corners of Europe. Men such as Giordano Bruno, the heretical Italian philosopher, jumped to its support. Other astronomers conducted their own investigations to validate Copernicus' hypothesis. In Denmark, Tycho Brahe collected more accurate observational data. Johannes Kepler filled thousands of pages with calculations based on Brahe's data and finally decided that the planets did not move with uniform speed or in circular orbits but at varying speeds and in elliptical orbits. Galileo's observations of the moons of Jupiter (a small solar system in itself) further confirmed the Copernican theory. Neither orthodox Aristotelian science nor common-sense observation which "saw" the sun and moon "move" around the earth could withstand the evidence that began to pile up.

The breakthrough in astronomy was followed by similar advances in mechanics. Just as the Aristotelian view of the universe fell to Copernicus' new version, Aristotelian mechanics were also replaced. Aristotle's ideas about moving bodies were not based on experiment but on deductions from "first principles." However, Stevin, Galileo, Descartes, Kepler, Huyghens, and finally Newton, using a science based upon experiment and expressed in mathematical equations, destroyed most of the ideas of the Greek philosopher.

In 1586, Simon Stevin, a self-taught military engineer, conducted an experiment disproving the Aristotelian view that heavy bodies fall more quickly than light ones (an experiment that has been incorrectly attributed to Galileo). "The experiment against Aristotle is this," wrote Stevin:

> "Let us take two leaden balls, one ten times greater in weight than the other. Allow them to fall together from a height of thirty feet upon a board from which a sound is clearly given out and it shall appear that the lighter does not take ten times longer to fall than the heavier, but that they fall so equally upon the board that both noises appear on a single sensation of sound."

Galileo extended this type of experiment. His contribution to science in general and to mechanics in particular was his careful working out of the proper relation between theory, experiment and mathematics. With Galileo we have the "idealized experiment" - one conducted either with physical bodies or in thought alone. The important thing is the careful exclusion of all aspects of nature which cannot be reduced to measurable quantities and thus expressed in the language of number. He excluded all qualities such as color or warmth, symmetry, final causes, or the operations of deity, and angelic intelligences which previous scientists had often used to "explain" the nature of the world.

A passionate Copernican, Galileo's support of the heliocentric system based upon the observations he conducted with his improved telescopes, destroyed the final props of the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic universe. His observation of the moons of Jupiter, his discovery of mountains on the moon and spots on the sun, proved that the earth and the rest of the universe were probably very much alike. The dynamical principles which held it together were uncovered by the labors of Kepler, Descartes and Newton.

Kepler's discovery that the planets moved in elliptical orbits and that their velocity varied in relation to their distance from the sun drove the German scientist in search of a physical cause that produced planetary motion. In beginning this investigation, Kepler became the first modern physicist. Though he believed that some vague, magnetic emanation from the sun drove the planets in their eternal orbits, his work was a giant step leading to Isaac Newton's ideas of universal gravitation.

Newton himself said of his achievements: "If I have seen further than others, it is because I have stood on the shoulders of giants." And he did. He synthesized the work of Stevin, Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and the other scientists who preceded him and published his findings in a monumental work, PRINCIPIA. He combined the new physics and the new astronomy to develop his supreme law--the law of universal gravitation. This law states that every particle in the universe attracts every other particle with a force equal to the product of their masses and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them. An apple is attracted to the earth, and therefore falls to the earth when let go from its twig. But the earth is also attracted to the apple, and, indeed, the earth "falls up" to the apple by an infinitesimal amount. Their combined masses, multiplied together, determines their mutual attraction. Of course, their mutual attraction becomes less and less the more the apple is moved away from the earth. What is important about the law, however, is that it states that every particle in the universe is attracted to every other particle in the same way. Hence the same force that mutually attracts earth and apple, attracts earth and moon, or sun and earth.

Newton's development of this grand theory did depend upon the work of his predecessors. Galileo had defined the law of freely falling bodies. Huyghens had developed a physical and mathematical demonstration of the law of centrifugal force. Kepler's laws defining the motions of the planets added grist to Newton's mill. Finally, Newton himself developed his own measuring instruments, a new branch of mathematics (the calculus), and a number of experimental procedures to create the law.

From the genius of Newton emerged the grand outline of the "World Machine" in which a Great Engineer had established eternal laws for the governance of His universe. At the creation he had set the machine in motion to operate forever. The mystery that shrouded God's universe had been stripped away. Man had come to understand it and how it worked.

The scientific revolution's center of gravity was located in mathematics, mechanics and astronomy. The union of these disciplines in celestial mechanics set the style of the age and indicated the course that the physical sciences would follow deep into the nineteenth century. A triumphant mechanistic philosophy whose symbol is the pendulum clock (developed by Huyghens) was to be applied to the study of diverse phenomena such as heat (thermodynamics), electricity, and magnetism (electrodynamics), and to influence thought in the less developed disciplines, such as chemistry and biology. Harvey's description of the circulation of the blood and Boyle's study of gases all reflect the influence of mechanical ideas.

The scientific revolution extended its influence beyond the bounds of science itself. Science is a product of social activity, however towering the individual genius may be. Institutions for the promotion of scientific activity were established during the seventeenth century to encourage the social role of science. The National Academy of Science, of which the British Royal Society and the French Royal Academy were pioneers, and the scientific journal, which published the scientist's findings, were created in this period of frenzied activity. These two innovations helped to quicken the pace of scientific discovery by permitting the rapid exchange of scientific opinion. They provided forums for the critical scrutiny of new scientific ideas. Furthermore, neither the academies nor the journals were closed to the interested non-scientist in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The diarist Samuel Pepys, the poet John Dryden, the architect Christopher Wren, and the philosopher John Locke were all members of the Royal Society.

The direct and indirect impact of the scientific revolution on society at large, however, was not pronounced in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The more intricate ideas were understood only by the small, well-educated minority. Ordinary men went on believing in the evidence of their senses and cherishing the old ideas concerning the relationship of man to God and God to nature. Scientific ideas percolated down to the masses very slowly.

Yet, although it was restricted to an elite, the impact of scientific innovations was momentous. What historians call the climate of opinion was irreversibly altered. Belief in witchcraft and miracles, or the idea that comets and eclipses were heralds of disaster, could not be held by people who also accepted the ideas of the new science. The power elites transformed the critical skepticism of Descartes, Locke and Spinoza into more humane legislation, eventually abolishing trials for witchcraft, for example. Medieval philosophy was not so much directly attacked as it was ignored, and eventually forgotten. The philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries incorporated into their world views the elements of a mechanistic universe worked out by the scientists.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Age of the French Enlightenment, men such as Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert, Montesquieu and Immanuel Kant had thoroughly absorbed the teachings of the Newtonians. Since the great Newton had discovered the Laws of Nature, other and perhaps lesser, men would seek out the "natural laws" of human society. That this quest leads directly to the American and French Revolutions is the most fitting tribute to the pensive revolutionaries of the seventeenth century. Ultimately, scientific progress became associated with the optimistic ideas of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries concerning the inevitability of human progress and the attainment of a generalized happiness for all mankind. Bacon and Leibnitz, who most clearly saw the potential of science to liberate mankind from animal-like toil, had their prophecies vindicated in the nineteenth century with the harnessing of all forms of energy. Yet one cannot escape posing the essential question: Has science been a Prometheus, giving the secrets of the gods to a grateful mankind, or a sorceror's apprentice, unable to control the abuse of the gifts of intellect?

In the full glow of the scientific revolution, Blaise Pascal, one of its brilliant contributors who understood completely the implications of the new science, uttered a deeply symbolic cry: "These infinite spaces terrify me." And so it has remained as in the beginning of the quest for physical knowledge. What is done with it depends upon what man makes of himself and whether or not he orders his society with the same harmony and concord that his equations achieve for the heavens.

UNIT IX

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARKET ECONOMY

Stating the Issue

Scarcity is the basic fact of economic life. Our needs are far greater than the resources necessary to satisfy them. Economic historians study the ways in which mankind has allocated his resources to answer the three questions implied by the problem of scarcity: what to produce, how to produce it and for whom to produce it. Most societies have answered these questions by using a mixture of three types of economic systems, traditional, market and command.

People in traditional societies decide the three basic questions according to their folkways and mores. They produce and distribute the same goods as their fathers made using the same time-honored ways to allocate resources. In command societies men with political power answer the three basic questions for the remainder of the population. They control the resources of the society and allocate them as they see fit to reach their goals. In a market economy, the consumer is sovereign. Resources are allocated by people with money to spend whose demand for goods motivates producers to make them. Men receive goods roughly in proportion to the value of the economic contribution they make.

There are no pure economic systems in the real world. Usually one system plays a dominant role in a society while the other two have less important roles to play. For example, Alaskan Eskimos let tradition guide most of their economic decisions; the United States relies heavily on the market; in the Soviet Union command occupies the most important position. Yet in all three of these economies, tradition, market and command play some role. In the United States, for example, men often enter their father's occupation because of family traditions. More than a third of the economic decisions about the allocation of resources in the United States are made at the command of government rather than by the market.

Modern economic systems are blends of various market and command elements. These economies have been in the making for hundreds of years. The modern dynamic market grew out of the static medieval economy dominated by manorialism and the guilds. In some countries the development of the market paralleled the growth of parliamentary political institutions. Modern command economies, such as that of the Soviet Union, grew up in nations where small elites dominated the political process. We will study the development of command economies later in this course.

Why did the market economy develop out of the static economic system of the Middle Ages? What are the characteristics of a market economy? We will be concerned with these two questions in Readings 35 through 38.

READING XXXV

THE EMERGENCE OF THE MARKET

The medieval economy contained some elements of the modern market system, but as the documents in Reading XV indicate, most medieval economic decisions were made on the basis of traditions. Centuries of gradual change in the political and social systems and in the values of medieval man were required before a market system could emerge. The documents in Reading XXXI shed light on some of these changes. They helped to transform the traditional economy of the Middle Ages into a system where the basic economic decisions were made in the market. As you read, keep the following questions in mind.

1. **What changes in values apparently took place in these centuries? What caused these changes? How would they affect the traditional medieval economy?**
2. **How did the activities of kings promote the development of a market system? Why do you think the kings wished to help merchants and towns?**
3. **What changes took place in the social structure that would help a market system emerge?**
4. **How would the changes you studied in units V-VIII help promote the emergence of the market? How are those changes related to the developments described in this reading?**

A TOWN CHARTER - 1155 *

Although towns were the center of commerce in the Middle Ages, they were hampered by uncertain legal status in developing market institutions. For instance, towns often had to depend upon the local lord for protection, and he was often unwilling to help. The following town charter illustrates some of the changes that took place in the legal status of towns that helped them become thriving centers of commerce.

*** From G. C. Greenway and D. C. Douglas, eds., ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, Oxford, Oxford University Press).**

This legal document gives the Londoners exemption from certain taxes and guarantees the protection of the king and his aid in the collection of debts.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION AND VALUES *

The Roman Catholic church opposed economic transactions in which one person paid interest on a loan from another or in which a seller could set an "unjust" price. John Calvin, the sixteenth century Protestant reformer, took a different position on this issue. The following selection illustrates his point of view.

* From Robert Lekachman, THE VARIETIES OF ECONOMICS, (New York: Meridian Books, 1962), 69-70.

This selection exposes the values of Calvinist Protestantism, which, in contrast to the philosophy of Aquinas, states that one must use God's gifts to pursue his economic interests.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE NATIONAL STATE **

Louis XIV's finance minister, Jean Baptiste Colbert took an active hand in the economy of his country. The following letter (1664) illustrates his policies.

** From Paul L. Hughes and Robert F. Fries, READINGS IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION (New York: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1956) 61, 110-111.

This memoire of Colbert guarantees the protection of the King of France regarding the transport of goods as well as a subsidy from the royal treasury for the establishment of manufacturing firms.

A SERF MAKES A NEW CONTRACT WITH HIS LORD - 1278 ***

In the Middle Ages a large part of the population was bound to the soil. Serfs were required to perform services for the lord of the manor and to give him some of the produce from their own small holdings. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, however, lords negotiated new contracts with their serfs. The following example is typical.

Let all know that we have manumitted and liberated from all yoke of servitude William, the son of Richard of Wythington, whom previously we have held as our born bondman, with his whole progeny and all his chattels, so that neither we nor our successors shall be able to require or exact any right or claim in the said William, his progeny, or his chattels. But the same William, with his whole progeny and all his chattels, shall remain free and quit and without disturbance, exaction, or any claim on the part of us or our successors by reason of any servitude forever.

*** From J. H. Robinson, READINGS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY (2 vols. Boston 1904), Vol. I, pp. 405-406.

We will, moreover, and concede that he and his heirs shall hold the messuages, land, rents, and meadows in Wythington which his ancestors held from us and our predecessors, by giving and performing the fine which is called merchet for giving his daughter in marriage, and tallage from year to year according to our will--that he shall have and hold these for the future from us and our successors freely, quietly, peacefully, and hereditarily, by paying to us and our successors yearly 40s. sterling, at the four terms of the year, namely: at St. John the Baptist's day 10s., at Michaelmas 10s., at Christmas 10s., and at Easter 10s., for all service, exaction, custom, and secular demand; saving to us, nevertheless, attendance at our court of Castre every three weeks, wardship, and relief, and outside service of our lord the king, when they shall happen.

A COMMENT ON ENGLISH SOCIETY - 1701 *

Daniel Defoe, renowned for his great novel ROBINSON CRUSOE, was a keen observer of the England in which he lived. In the following selection, taken from his COMPLETE ENGLISH TRADESMAN, he notes some of the social changes taking place in his country.

* From INTRODUCTION TO CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946) I, 680.

In this excerpt Defoe explains that English society admits to social contact between tradesmen and nobility. This benefits trade, he says, because each of them augmenting the other's income--the tradesman with his skills and the noble with his capital.

READING XXXVI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARKET - A CASE STUDY **

From the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth centuries the mightiest economic power in all Europe was little Holland. The story of her rise to commercial predominance is an excellent case study in the development of the modern market economy. For Reading XXXVI we turn to one of modern America's greatest economic historians for the story of Holland's economic development. As you read this account, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What factors were responsible for Holland's economic growth? What analytical questions would you ask to help you analyze this situation?
2. What human, natural, and capital resources did Holland have to draw on? How did she employ them?
3. What was produced in Holland? How was it produced? For whom?
4. What relationships can you find between the social, political, and ideological changes noted in Reading XXXV and the development of Holland's economy?

** Reference on page 146.

** From Herbert Heaton, ECONOMIC HISTORY OF Europe (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948) 274-282.

In this chapter of his book, Heaton explains the rise of Holland's mercantile economy from fishing fleet, to coastal trade, to shipbuilding, to sea-carrying trade, to trade and colonization in the East.

READING XXXVII

ADAM SMITH: THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE MARKET ECONOMY

In the real world, there are no pure economic systems. Traditional systems have elements of the market and elements of command within them. Modern command economies, like that of the Soviet Union, still permit many economic decisions to be made in the market or by tradition. The same generalizations apply to systems where most decisions about what to produce, how to produce it and for whom to produce it are made by supply and demand in the marketplace. Pure systems are at the poles of a continuum; real economic systems always lie somewhere between the extremes.

It is possible, however, to imagine a pure economic system and to examine the way in which one might operate. Building a model of a pure system can help us to understand the way in which economies actually work. Models are not descriptions of reality; they are tools to be used for analysis and for prediction. The fact that an economist can develop a model indicates that an advanced stage of economic sophistication has been reached.

Adam Smith's famous book THE WEALTH OF NATIONS, published in 1776, remains the classic model of a purely competitive economic system. It stands as a clear indication that the market economy had really shaken off the traditions that fettered men in the Middle Ages. But it is important to understand that Smith was not describing the economy of England in the late eighteenth century. Instead of describing his times, he wrote about what he thought an economy ought to be. His ideas were influenced by the times in which he lived and can only be understood in the context of those times. Four aspects of the context are particularly important.

First, we must remember that Smith was attacking the mercantilist regulations which still governed much of English economic life. Like France under Colbert, the economic minister of Louis XIV, England had passed a host of mercantilist regulations. Smith believed that these rules were designed to help the producer but that they resulted in higher prices to the consumer. Since Smith believed that the welfare of the consumer ought to be the objective of any economic system, he opposed all mercantilist regulations. His attacks on government regulations of the economy must be viewed in this light.

Second, Smith was a child of the Enlightenment. Like Sir Isaac Newton in science and John Locke in political thought, he believed in natural laws. If God had made laws to guide the stars through the heavens and to control the way in which men governed themselves, He must also have made laws to regulate economic activities. In competition--the invisible hand which could bring the best possible goods to the consumer at the lowest possible price--Smith found the economic parallel of Newton's law of gravitation and Locke's belief in such natural rights as life, liberty and property.

Third, industry in England in the eighteenth century was predominately small scale. Many industries approximated the conditions which economists agree must be met in order for the purely competitive system to operate according to Smith's model. There were many small firms in each industry. No one firm was large enough to influence market price. They made identical or easily substitutable products. And there were no barriers either to entering or to leaving an industry. Looking about him, Smith could imagine all industries becoming purely competitive. The birth of mass production and the rise of the giant corporation, still decades away, were unknown to him. He could not foretell that these developments would make a shambles of the small scale industry he saw around him.

Finally, with the exception of mercantilist regulations, few laws governed English economic life. The first factory legislation was passed in 1802, twenty-six years after Smith's book was published. The only significant welfare legislation supported by the government was the poor law. Moreover, the need for factory legislation and for laws to protect the poor, aged or infirm was not apparent in the late eighteenth century. Smith's failure to support such laws should not be taken today as evidence that they will undermine a sacred economic system. Smith was not even describing a system; he was developing a tool for analysis and suggesting reforms based on this tool by which he thought the economy of Britain might be improved in the late eighteenth century.

Today's reading is a short excerpt from THE WEALTH OF NATIONS. Since the language is archaic, you may wish to read it twice. Remember the background of this book as you read. Keep the following questions in mind:

1. What does the publication of THE WEALTH OF NATIONS reveal about the emergence of a market economy in the West? What does Smith have to say about the questions of value which Thomas Aquinas and Calvin wrote about? About the traditional economy which governed the manor and the guilds? What would give a man status in a society such as the one Smith describes?
2. According to Smith, what should be the objective of an economic system? What value system would condition Smith to propose these objectives?
3. How did Smith expect to reach his goals? Was his system an end in itself or a means to an end?

THE WEALTH OF NATIONS *

Consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production; and the interest of the producer ought to be attended to, only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer. The maxim is so perfectly self-evident, that it would be absurd to attempt to prove it. But in the mercantile system, the interest of the consumer is almost constantly sacrificed to that of the producer; and it seems to consider production, and not consumption, as the ultimate end and object of all industry and commerce. . . .

There is in every society or neighbourhood an ordinary or average rate both of wages and profit in every different employment of labour and stock. This rate is naturally regulated, as I shall show hereafter, partly by the general circumstances of the society, their riches or poverty, their advancing, stationary, or declining condition; and partly by the particular nature of each employment.

There is likewise in every society or neighbourhood an ordinary or average rate of rent, which is regulated too, as I shall show hereafter, partly by the general circumstances of the society or neighbourhood in which the land is situated, and partly by the natural or improved fertility of the land.

These ordinary or average rates may be called the natural rates of wages, profit, and rent, at the time and place in which they commonly prevail.

When the price of any commodity is neither more nor less than what is sufficient to pay the rent of the land, the wages of the labour, and the profits

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* Adam Smith, THE WEALTH OF NATIONS, Modern Library Edition, Random House, Inc., 1937, pages 625, 55-58.

of the stock employed in raising, preparing, and bringing it to market, according to their natural rates, the commodity is then sold for what may be called its natural price.

The commodity is then sold precisely for what it is worth, or for what it really costs the person who brings it to market; for though in common language what is called the prime cost of any commodity does not comprehend the profit of the person who is to sell it again, yet if he sells it at a price which does not allow him the ordinary rate of profit in his neighbourhood, he is evidently a loser by the trade; since by employing his stock in some other way he might have made that profit. His profit, besides, is his revenue, the proper fund of his subsistence. As, while he is preparing and bringing the goods to market, he advances to his workmen their wages, or their subsistence; so he advances to himself, in the same manner, his own subsistence, which is generally suitable to the profit which he may reasonably expect from the sale of his goods. Unless they yield him this profit, therefore, they do not repay him what they may very properly be said to have really cost him.

Though the price, therefore, which leaves him this profit, is not always the lowest at which a dealer may sometimes sell his goods, it is the lowest at which he is likely to sell them for any considerable time; at least where there is perfect liberty, or where he may change his trade as often as he pleases.

The actual price at which any commodity is commonly sold is called its market price. It may either be above, or below, or exactly the same with its natural price.

The market price of every particular commodity is regulated by the proportion between the quantity which is actually brought to market, and the demand of those who are willing to pay the natural price of the commodity, or the whole value of the rent, labour, and profit, which must be paid in order to bring it thither. Such people may be called the effectual demanders, and their demand the effectual demand; since it may be sufficient to effectuate the bringing of the commodity to market. It is different from the absolute demand. A very poor man may be aid in some sense to have a demand for a coach and six; he might like to have it; but his demand is not an effectual demand, as the commodity can never be brought to market in order to satisfy it.

When the quantity of any commodity which is brought to market falls short of the effectual demand, all those who are willing to pay the whole value of the rent, wages, and profit, which must be paid in order to bring it thither, cannot be supplied with the quantity which they want. Rather than want it altogether, some of them will be willing to give more. A competition will immediately begin among them, and the market price will rise more or less above the natural price, according as either the greatness of the deficiency, or the wealth and wanton luxury of the competitors, happen to animate more or less the eagerness of the competition. Among competitors of equal wealth and luxury the same deficiency will generally occasion a more or less eager competition, according as the acquisition of the commodity happens to be of more or less importance to them. Hence the exorbitant price of the necessaries of life during the blockade of a town or in a famine.

When the quantity brought to market exceeds the effectual demand, it cannot be all sold to those who are willing to pay the whole value of the rent, wages and profit, which must be paid in order to bring it thither. Some part must be sold to those who are willing to pay less, and the low price which they give for it must reduce the price of the whole. The market price will sink more or less below the natural price, according as the greatness of the excess increases more or less the competition of the sellers, or accor ing as it happens to be more or less important to them to get immediately rid of the commodity. The same excess in the importation of perishable, will occasion a much greater competition than in that of durable commodities; in the importation of oranges, for example, than in that of old iron.

When the quantity brought to market is just sufficient to supply the effectual demand and no more, the market price naturally comes to be either exactly, or as nearly as can be judged of, the same with the natural price. The whole quantity upon hand can be disposed of for this price, and cannot be disposed of for more. The competition of the different dealers obliges them all to accept of this price, but does not oblige them to accept of less.

The quantity of every commodity brought to market naturally suits itself to the effectual demand. It is the interest of all those who employ their land, labour, or stock, in bringing any commodity to market, that the quantity never should exceed the effectual demand; and it is the interest of all other people that it never should fall short of that demand.

If at any time it exceeds the effectual demand, some of the component parts of its price must be paid below their natural rate. If it is rent, the interest of the landlords will immediately prompt them to withdraw a part of their land; and if it is wages or profit, the interest of the labourers in the one case, and of their employers in the other, will prompt them to withdraw a part of their labour or stock from this employment. The quantity brought to market will soon be no more than sufficient to supply the effectual demand. All the different parts of its price will rise to their natural rate, and the whole price to its natural price.

If, on the contrary, the quantity brought to market should at any time fall short of the effectual demand, some of the component parts of its price must rise above their natural rate. If it is rent, the interest of all other landlords will naturally prompt them to prepare more land for the raising of this commodity; if it is wages or profit, the interest of all other labourers and dealers will soon prompt them to employ more labour and stock in preparing and bringing it to market. The quantity brought thither will soon be sufficient to supply the effectual demand. All the different parts of its price will soon sink to their natural rate, and the whole price to its natural price.

The natural price, therefore, is, as it were, the central price, to which the prices of all commodities are continually gravitating. Different accidents may sometimes keep them suspended a good deal above it, and sometimes force them down even somewhat below it. But whatever may be the obstacles which hinder them from settling in this center of repose and continuance, they are constantly tending towards it.

The whole quantity of industry annually employed in order to bring any commodity to market, naturally suits itself in this manner to the effectual demand. It naturally aims at bringing always that precise quantity thither which may be sufficient to supply, and no more than supply, that demand.

READING XXXVIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARKET ECONOMY

The market economy grew slowly out of the political and economic system of the Middle Ages. After the fall of Rome in the fifth century, the large-scale political organization of Europe had collapsed. Thousands of small political units grew up each with its own ruler. Economic life became localized in turn. People in each small area organized local self-sufficient economies organized upon a subsistence basis.

A new institution, the manor, soon dominated economic life. A typical manor often contained thousands of acres controlled by a feudal lord. The lord protected the serfs who worked for him and in addition acted as judge, political administrator, and economic supervisor. Near the center of his lands he built a castle or manor house and fortified it for protection. Workshops where men could make clothes or mill grain or press wine clustered around the castle. Nearby stretched a patchwork of fields divided into strips cultivated by serfs. Usually half or more of the strips belonged to the lord. Serfs were required to work their lord's land and to make a number of payments of goods that they produced on their own plots.

The manor was not part of a market economy. Most economic decisions were based upon tradition. For example, the time of the year when crops were planted or harvested was often determined by the date of religious festivals. So were payments in the form of work or goods made by serfs to their lord. The remaining economic decisions were usually made at the command of the lord. The manor was a self-sufficient economic unit which sold only a tiny percentage of its produce to nearby townsmen. Selling the surplus in town did not play a central role in the economy of the manor. Unlike modern farmers, the agriculturalists of the Middle Ages were part of a self-sufficient, subsistence economy dominated by traditions.

Nor did economic transactions in the towns which developed in the later Middle Ages typify a market economy. Small manufacturing centers organized around guilds grew up in each town of any size. Guildsmen made products which could not be manufactured on a manor. Guilds of armorers, masons, glaziers, weavers and dyers and metal workers sprang up. Each guild was run by guild masters, independent craftsmen who banded together to lay down rules for their trade. A number of paid journeymen usually worked for each master. Both the journeymen and the masters were governed by an elaborate set of rules and customs specifically written for each trade.

These guilds did not resemble modern economic institutions. Their members paid at least as much attention to non-economic as to economic matters. In addition, their major purpose was not to make money in a competitive market. Instead they tried to regulate industry so that each craftsman could make a good living but could not accumulate enough money to forge ahead of his fellows. The guilds set wages, hours, prices, and working conditions. They restricted competition and limited profits. Like the manors, the guilds were part of a static economic system dominated by traditional ways of doing things.

Throughout the Middle Ages economics remained a subordinate part of life. Religion dominated the aspirations of man; the church helped to make economic decisions. The church generally suspected the activities of businessmen. Churchmen insisted upon a "just price" by which they meant the cost of producing an article plus enough money to provide a "just" living for the artisan. The church passed laws against charging high rates of interest. Like the regulations of manor and guild, these customs slowed economic progress. Economically the Middle Ages were static; the dead hand of custom ruled the land.

Before a market economy could evolve in the West, three essential changes were required. First, economic life would have to be organized around monetary transactions. For a market society to exist, almost every task must sooner or later have a monetary measure. But most transactions on the manor did not involve money and many of the social services performed by guildsmen did not either. In the second place, the organization of economic activities by tradition and by command would have to give way. A universal demand for goods and for labor in industry, agriculture and trade must replace control by political, military and religious leaders. Finally, the society would require a new attitude toward economic activity. For a market to function well, man had to be free to seek economic gain. A society of status, stemming from political, military and religious leadership had to give way to a society in which rewards for economic activity were recognized. These three changes began to take place in the later Middle Ages. With them came the birth of a market economy.

The impetus for change came from a number of directions. One of these was the traveling merchant who first arose during the 8th or 9th century. These men were usually of low social status, often escaped serfs. They traveled in long caravans with their horses and mules loaded down with goods brought from immense distances. These traveling merchants first began to weave the web of economic interdependence and create the insatiable demand for goods which characterize a market economy.

In the wake of itinerant merchants new towns and cities sprang up. As they traveled around the countrysides, merchants would stop near a castle or a burg (town) where they could be protected. Permanent trading posts grew up around the walls. Since they were located outside the town proper, these trading posts were not governed by the ancient customs of the manor or guild. As a result, a separate commercial code of behavior and set of institutions developed. Here was innovation and a break with traditional ways of doing things. Perhaps a thousand new towns were born in Europe during the thousand years of the Middle Ages. Change was slow but it was also steady and its influence on the transformation of European economic life was enormous.

Both traveling merchants and the birth of towns broadened the horizons of Europeans and increased their demands for new goods. The Crusades spurred both these developments by bringing provincial European leaders abruptly into contact with a new dynamic world. The Crusades helped to disrupt the value systems of the traditional European nobility. They also helped a number of capitalists get started by giving them their first economic stake. Slowly the traditional ways were being undermined.

Another factor working for change was the development of larger political units. A powerful economic society requires a stable and broad political base. Between the 10th and 16th centuries, political power was once again centralized in Europe. The new central governments abolished local tolls, issued a standard coinage, developed standard weights and measures, and even promoted manufacturing. European nations financed voyages of exploration which eventually linked the whole world into one vast market. The discoveries abroad flooded Europe with gold and silver to form the basis of a new coinage. They also widened the horizons of Europeans and increased the demands for new goods borne from all the world in the holds of the new sailing ships.

All of these changes--itinerant merchants, towns, Crusades and the growth of national states--were plainly visible. Changes in attitude were not, and yet they were equally important. Perhaps the most vital ones took place in the church. The medieval church had disapproved of the accumulation of money; passed laws against usury and minimized the importance of life on earth. The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century brought an essentially different attitude to worldly work and to money making. Rather than regarding worldly activity as vain and sinful, Calvinists, for example, approved of the life of this world and even looked on it as a kind of index of the worth of a man. The energetic merchant became a godly man, not an evil one. Calvinism thus provided a value system which encouraged the gaining of wealth.

In addition to endorsing a life dedicated to gaining wealth, the Calvinists developed new attitudes towards the use of wealth. Throughout most of the Middle Ages excess money had been used for fighting, for lavish display and for the purchase of consumers' goods. But the Calvinists argued that extra wealth should be used for productive purposes. Instead of spending money for luxuries, they spent it to buy new machines and to build new manufacturing plants.

All the changes which we have been describing helped to bring about the payment of feudal dues in money. In the Middle Ages most feudal payments had been in kind - so many bushels of wheat, so many chickens. Gradually these requirements were changed into money payments. A number of causes spurred this vital development. The growing urban demand for food brought cash to the countryside. At the same time, the nobility looked for increasing stores of money to buy the widening variety of goods which merchants brought to their manors. So they began to change payments in kind to fixed cash payments. Then came inflation, which eventually undermined the economic position of much of the nobility. The grandson of a noble who had fixed rents found that he could buy only one-third as much goods as his ancestors had purchased with the same amount of money. At the same time, the merchants and bankers were becoming richer. Gradually the social status of merchants, bankers and manufacturers rose as that of the old landed nobility fell. A social revolution was in the making.

Gradually the economic organization of Europe was being transformed. In the 10th century most Europeans seldom used money to buy or sell goods. By the 17th century economic transactions involving money held the entire economy together. Moreover, the economic side of life began to be separated from the social customs with which it had once been so closely connected. Previously economic activity had been tied up with all sorts of political and social obligations both on manors and in guilds. As the economy was monetized "labor" gradually became divorced from social relations and became a commodity - like wool or iron - which could be bought and sold on the market.

The nature of land and capital were also transformed. Formerly people thought of land as a territory of a great lord, as something which gave him his status and his subsistence. By the 16th century, an estate which had once been treasured for political power and status became a property with a market price available for any number of uses. A new attitude also developed toward capital. Where extra funds had once been used for lavish display, they were now used to produce further goods. Instead of measuring wealth in castles and golden goblets, men began to measure wealth in pounds or livres. All these changes signify that the economic aspect of life was being recognized as soemthing quite separate from the social or political aspects.

One by-product of the monetization of feudal life was the enclosure movement. As early as the 13th century, some landowners began to put fences around the land which had previously been used as pasture for the animals belonging to all the peasants on the manor. The new enclosed fields were used to graze sheep because a rising demand for woolen cloth made this enterprise profitable. The process of enclosures went on in England for more than six centuries. On the continent it proceeded at a slower pace. Everywhere it brought landlords within the market and it ruthlessly pushed peasants and tenants off the land. Driven from the country to the new towns and cities, they eventually became part of the urban labor force. In this way the monetization of feudal life helped to develop an essential ingredient of industrialization, a landless proletariat available to work for wages to earn a living.

In the Middle Ages the economic system was run by tradition and by command. In the modern world, a new method of controlling society - the market - emerged to replace tradition and command as the dominant force in economic life. But the market is intangible; it cannot be touched and it cannot be seen. Essentially the market is a pattern of social behavior. It is the urge to obtain the largest income possible by making the best bargain in the market place.

In a market economy, everything is for sale and the terms of sale are vital to everyday living. The wages a man gets for selling his labor determine the level at which he can live. A good bargain for a landlord or a capitalist can spell riches while a bad one can ruin him. This new market orientation forced men to follow their economic self interest. With a drive to maximize income, it was possible to encourage men to enter or leave various industries by raising or lowering the rewards offered. If the society needed more iron mills, the market mechanism raised the rewards for land, labor and capital by making it possible to make high profits. In the same way, by lowering profits in an industry, society could shift resources out of one line of work and into another. Thus the market provided a tool by which society could allocate its resources.

The allocation of economic resources through the market required mobility. Men who were mobile could not be tied to the land like the serfs in the Middle Ages. If resources were to be mobile, the guilds could no longer maintain control over how much each of its members could produce. Mobility meant that any job in any industry was now open to all comers. As a result, competition appeared. No longer was each industry a protected place where a few guildsmen could keep others out. Now any worker and any employer could be driven from his job by a competitor who could do it more efficiently. Thus competition provided an essential safeguard to the whole society by assuring everyone that goods would be produced as efficiently as possible. Thus the market began to determine how goods were going to be produced. It also determined what goods were to be produced. In pre-market economies, either tradition or the commands of rulers always answered the "what" question. But in the market economy, the demands of everyone determine what is to be produced. The wants in a society are expressed by millions of orders placed in the market by everyone who has money to buy. As these orders enter the market they affect the price of goods. In turn, price and consequent profit determines the allocation of resources which in turn determines what will be produced. In this way the market society catapulted the consumer into a position where he could determine what goods would be produced for the market. Government, by placing orders for goods with money raised by taxes, did determine to some degree what was going to be produced, but for the overwhelming majority of economic decisions, the consumer became sovereign. Thus a new economic system was born. By 1750 most economic decisions in Great Britain were being made in the market. Let us examine the implications of this statement.

In a free market economy the demands of consumers with money to buy goods largely determine what is produced. In an attempt to make profits, businessmen produce the goods and services which consumers want. In order to make profit, businessmen produce as efficiently as possible. If their profits are large, other businessmen will enter the industry in order to share this prosperity and the resulting competition will lower prices and drive out inefficient producers.

The profit motive under competitive pressures such as these largely determines how goods are produced, that is, with what kinds of machinery, how much labor and so forth. If one employer finds a more profitable mix of natural, capital and human resources, other employers must imitate him or be driven out of business by the pressure of competition. In the same way business institutions develop and change. If the corporate form of management has advantages over the individual proprietorship, businessmen will embrace it.

The market system also determines for whom goods will be produced. Businessmen draw natural, capital and human resources together to produce goods. They pay out incomes to workers and to people who own raw materials and capital. How much they pay to each depends on the forces of competition. If a skill is scarce, the man who possesses it will receive a greater reward than a man who has only a skill which he shares with many others. A man who owns a scarce raw material such as uranium will receive more than a man who owns a plentiful one,such as sand.

Markets in which prices rise and fall in relationship to demand link consumer and businessman together. Each seeks to make the best of his own position. The businessman sets his price as high as he can so as to make as much profit as possible. The consumer pays as little as possible in order to make the income he has received from labor or from a share of rents and profits go as far as possible. These two interacting forces set the market price of goods and assure the best possible goods to the consumer at the lowest possible price.

The foregoing analysis rests upon several vital assumptions. The pure market mechanism will work well only if three essential conditions are present. They are:

1. There must be a large number of producers of identical or closely substitutable products.

2. No one producer can become large enough to be able to influence the market price of a product by holding his goods off the market or by offering them for sale at any moment.

3. There must be freedom of exit and entry into the industry.

When the market economy was developing in the West most industries met these three conditions. Since technology was so primitive, most industry was small. Often master workmen toiled by themselves or employed only a very few journeymen and apprentices. Nowhere could one large manufacturer dominate an entire industry to the extent tht he could influence market price. The typical industry, such as the manufacture of woolen cloth, had thousands of independent entrepreneurs involved in it.

To a marked degree, these men made identical or closely substitutable products. One piece of woolen cloth could easily substitute for another of the same length and width. The vast variety of brand names to which we are accustomed had not yet developed; they are a product of mass production and of large-scale advertising. Hence, no man could obtain the advantages of a monopoly because a host of competitors was always ready to rush in to his business.

Finally, except for certain monopolies established by some of the mercantilist governments, entry into industries was quite free. Legally, men could start businesses if they wanted to. Since business was small scale, no enormous collections of capital were required. Primitive technology and simple forms of business organizations presented few serious problems to an aspiring entrepreneur. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most business in England met the prerequisites of a purely competitive economic system.

Even in these early days, however, government continued to make some economic decisions. Government taxed money away from citizens and reallocated it for a number of purposes. Government used it for collective wants such as police protection and national defense. Government redistributed income by maintaining poor houses for families which could not earn enough on the market to sustain life. The purely free market never existed in fact.

Even as the market economy emerged, the industrial revolution picked up speed in England. As a result of new technology and new business methods, giant firms large enough to influence the market price of products grew up. Huge accumulations of capital eventually became necessary in industries such as steel. With these developments, government once again stepped in to control economic abuses and to reallocate a larger and larger share of the national income. The forces of tradition played a smaller role with each passing decade.

In democratic countries, the reassertion of some command decisions did not put the economic system right back where it started. In the first place, the role of tradition is much smaller in the modern world than it was in the medieval. But even more significant, the command decisions made in western democracies today are controlled by a democratic electorate and not by the whim of an autocratic king or baron. In our world, even command comes from the people.

UNIT X

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY REVOLUTIONS

Stating the Issue

Europe evolved slowly from the traditional society of the Middle Ages to the more modern innovative society of today. The creation of Parliament, the emergence of the market economy, the development of nation states, and even the changes in scientific thinking required years of gradual change. These changes were often unseen by the people who brought them about. Surely no one in Europe realized that they were in the process of developing a modern, market economy when they freed a serf, granted protection to a town, started a coastal trading enterprise, or revolted against accepted religious authority. None of these little changes, in and of itself, created the market. But each, adding to the changes that had gone before and becoming absorbed in the changes that came later, accumulated to the point where a new economic system had been created.

Change is not always evolutionary, however. Sometimes men set out with a conscious design to remake the world in one fell swoop. Such sudden movements are called revolutions. One June 20, 1789, the deputies to the French Estates General met in a tennis court to swear an oath that they would not disband until they had created a new constitution for France. By the end of the summer the great edifice of government, so carefully and painstakingly constructed by the French kings from Phillip Augustus to Louis XIV, was completely destroyed and the erection of a new structure was begun. The members of the Estates General and thousands of other Frenchmen had deliberately set out to rebuild French society overnight.

Why did Frenchmen decide to do suddenly what it had taken generations of Englishmen to accomplish? Why were they not content to reform the old government instead of establishing a new one? What made them think they had the right to do away with the old and erect the new? What was the new society to be like? The answers to these questions are to be found in Readings XXXIX - XLII.

READING XXXIX

THE REVOLUTION IN MEN'S MINDS

The eighteenth century was a period of intellectual ferment. Not since the Renaissance had men questioned their fundamental principles with such intensity. The spring board of the reexamination of old ideas was the seventeenth century revolution in science. The natural scientists demonstrated an orderly universe functioning according to natural laws. Political philosophers then began to search for natural laws governing government and society. The ideal society, they said, must be one ruled by the laws of nature, much as the universe is governed by the Law of Universal Gravitation. But what were the natural laws by which society was organized?

A contemporary of Newton, John Locke, explored the idea of natural laws in his TWO TREATISES OF GOVERNMENT. Locke believed that man had originally lived in a "state of nature" in which he was completely free. In the state of nature men had enjoyed certain natural rights, namely, the right to life, liberty and property. However, these rights were insecure, for there was no agency to protect individual men against those who would use their might to deprive others of their rights. To remove themselves from this insecure state, men had agreed to a "social contract" in which they created a society and a government to protect natural rights.

Locke was a political philosopher in the employ of King William, the English king who had taken power from James II in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Locke had tried to justify the revolution by arguing that James II had violated the natural rights of the English citizenry and in so doing had broken the contract between the government and its citizens. Locke believed that the King had deserved to be deposed because he had broken the contract.

Jean Jacques Rousseau was an eighteenth century philosopher and writer who also looked for the foundations of society in natural laws. Like Locke, he argued that men had originally lived in a state of nature and that they had entered into a "social contract" to protect their natural rights. But here he parted company with Locke. Once people had agreed to a social contract they gave all their rights over to the control of the community. They agreed, Rousseau said, to conform to the "general will" of the society. According to Rousseau the "general will" was a kind of ideal representing what was best for the whole community. Rousseau believed that men were essentially good and that the general will which grew out of their social contract could be trusted to protect the rights of all. All men in the community participated in the formation of the general will, and once it was decided what it was, all men had to agree to it. There could be no dissent.

The ideas of Locke and Rousseau gained wide currency in eighteenth century France. The intelligentsia discussed their ideas with the nobles and the bourgeoisie in salons held by the ladies of Paris. In a typical salon the guests would gather to listen to and discuss the ideas of the philosophers over refreshments. Authors of the day popularized the ideas of Locke and Rousseau by writing plays, pamphlets, encyclopaedias, and novels. The bourgeoisie, who had contact with members of all social ranks, passed the ideas on to the lower classes in the cities. New city dwellers in turn spread them to those whom they had left behind on the farm. Parish priests began to speak of the social contract in their sermons. By these devious routes, the theories of Locke and Rousseau were spread far and wide.

The idea of the social contract had become a club with which to beat the old, monarchical regime in France. As Frenchmen listened to the ideas of the political philosophers they began to question the fundamental principles upon which absolute monarchy rested. This questioning led directly to the revolution which destroyed the government of Louis XIV and his successors. The ideas of Locke and Rousseau became the new theoretical basis for constructing a new government to take the place of the old. The revolution in men's minds, therefore, set the pattern for much of what happened in France after 1789.

As you read these selections, keep the following questions in mind.

1. On the basis of his theoretical principles, how would Locke have criticized the government of Louis XIV? How would Rousseau have criticized it?

2. What are the natural rights of man according to Locke? According to Rousseau? How are they to be protected by the social contract according to each philosopher?

3. Do you think Locke favors a democratic or a totalitarian form of government? Which does Rousseau favor?

OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT *

To understand political power aright, we must consider what condition all men are naturally in, and that is, a state of perfect freedom to do as they wish and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave or depending upon the will of any other man.

A state also of equality, in which no one has more power or authority than another, there being nothing more evident than that creatures of the same species and rank born to all the same advantages of nature, and the use of the

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* John Locke, TWO TREATISES OF GOVERNMENT, London, 1690. Language simplified and spelling modernized by Edwin Fenton

same faculties, should also be equal to each other without subordination or subjection. . . .

The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it that, being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions; for men being all the workmanship of one omnipotent and infinitely wise Maker; all the servants of one sovereign Master, sent into the world by His order and about His business; they are His property, whose workmanship they are, made to last during His, not one another's pleasure. All men are naturally in that state, and remain so till, by their own consents, they make themselves members of some political society. . . .

If man in the state of nature is as free as has been said, if he is absolute lord of his own person and possessions, equal to the greatest and subject to nobody, why will he part with his freedom? Why will he give up this empire, and subject himself to the dominion and control of any other power? To which it is obvious to answer, that though in the state of nature he has such a right, yet the enjoyment of it is very uncertain, and constantly exposed to the invasion of others; for all being kings as much as he, every man his equal, and most of them no strict observers of equity and justice, the enjoyment of the property he has in this state is very unsafe, very insecure; and it is not without reason that he seeks out and is willing to join in society with others who are already united, or have a mind to unite for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties and estates, which I call by the general name - property.

The great and chief end, therefore, of men uniting into commonwealths is the preservation of their property. . . .

. . .since it can never be supposed to be the will of the society that the legislature should be able to destroy that which everyone hopes to secure by entering into society, and for which the people submitted themselves to legislators of their own making; whenever the legislators try to take away and destroy the property of the people, or to reduce them to slavery under arbitrary power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people who are thereupon freed from any further obedience, and are left to the common refuge which God hath provided for all men against force and violence. Whensoever, therefore, the legislature shall break this fundamental rule of society, and either by ambition, fear, folly, or corruption, try to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberties, and estates of the people, by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends, and it is the privilege of people, who have a right to resume their original liberty, to establish a new legislature and provide for their own safety and security. What I have said here concerning the legislature in general holds true also for the executive, who having a double trust put in him, both to have a part in the legislature and to carry out the law, acts against both, when he goes about to set up his own arbitrary will as the law of the society. . . .

To this perhaps it will be said, that the people being ignorant, and always discontented, to lay the foundation of government in the unsteady opinion and uncertain humour of the people, is to expose it to certain ruin: and no government will be able long to subsist, if the people may set up a new legislature whenever they take offense at the old one. To this I answer, quite the contrary. People are not so easily got out of their old forms, as some are apt to suggest. . . .The slowness of the people to quit their old constitutions has, in the many revolutions which have been seen in this kingdom, in this and former ages, still kept us to, or, after some interval of fruitless attempts, still brought us back again to our old legislature of king, lords, and commons.

But it will be said, this hypothesis may lead to frequent rebellion. To which I answer. . . such revolutions happen not upon every little mismanagement in public affairs. . . .But if a long train of abuses, prevarications and artifices, all tending the same way, make the design visible to the people, they cannot but feel what they lie under, and see whither they are going; it is not to be wondered at that they should then rouse themselves, and endeavor to put the rule into such hands which may secure to them the end for which government was at first erected.

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT *

I assume, for the sake of argument, that mankind at some time reached a point when the disadvantages of remaining in a state of nature outweighed the advantages. Under these conditions, the original state of nature could no longer endure. The human race would have perished if it had not changed its ways.

Men, being human, cannot develop new powers. But they can unite and control the powers they already have. Men in the state of nature could get together, pooling their strength in a way that would permit them to meet any challenge. They had to learn to work together under central direction.

A real concentration of human powers could be brought about only as the result of an agreement among individual men. But each individual man relies on his own strength and his own freedom of action to protect and preserve himself. How can he limit his strength and his freedom of action without injuring himself and neglecting to care for his own affairs?

Some form of association must be found which can rally the whole community for the protection of the person and property of each of its citizens in such a way that each man, because he is a voluntary member of the association, renders obedience to his own will and hence remains as free as he was before.

* Jean Jacques Rousseau, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, Geneva: Marc-Michel Bousquet, 1776. Translated and adapted by Edwin Fenton.

That is the basic problem solved by the social contract.

The provisions of the social contract are determined by the nature of the act (of association) in such a way that the least modification will render them invalid. Even though the terms of association may never have been formally accepted in open meeting, they are everywhere the same and universally recognized. If the social contract were in any way broken by anyone, then each individual could at once resume all the rights which were his in the state of nature. He would regain his natural liberty by losing the liberty of the social contract for which he originally gave up his freedom of action.

The essence of the social contract can be stated simply: each individual surrenders his rights without reservation, all are equal. And because all are equal, it is to everyone's interest to make life pleasant for his fellows.

Since all rights have been surrendered to the community without reservation, no one has any claim against the group. If any rights were left to individuals and no one was given authority to decide between individual rights and the public good, then each man would try to extend the scope of those rights he had reserved for himself. This situation would mean that a state of nature still existed. All rights must be surrendered; none may be reserved. . . .

The heart of the idea of the social contract may be stated simply: Each of us places his person and authority under the supreme direction of the general will; and the group receives each individual as an indivisible part of the whole. . . .

In order that the social contract may not be a mere empty formula, everyone must understand that any individual who refuses to obey the general will must be forced by his fellows to do so. This is a way of saying that it may be necessary to force a man to be free; freedom in this case being obedience to the will of all.

READING XL

CRITICISMS OF THE OLD REGIME

The old regime of the French monarchy fell before the revolution which rocked France in 1789. A financial crisis, growing dissent among all classes, a degenerating economy combined with indecisive administration brought on the stormy upheaval. With the absolute monarchy destroyed, Frenchmen set out to rebuild their government and their society. But what form was it to take? What old abuses had to go? What new institutions and ideals would be erected in their place?

Before the revolution swept France, criticism of the old regime had mounted steadily. This criticism attacked the injustices and the incompetence that the revolutionists wished to abolish. These attacks by contemporaries provide grist for the historian's mill. From them he can construct conclusions about what the French revolutionaries wished to change in the old regime and what brave new world they wished to establish in its stead.

Reading XL contains excerpts from journals, letters, memoirs, and diaries which contain criticisms of the French government and society. As you read these selections, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What aspects of the old regime do the critics wish to change? What reasons do they give for wanting to change them?
2. What relationships can you discover between the abuses of the old regime and the absolutist government of Louis XIV?
3. Do you think any of the critics had read Locke and Rousseau? What relationships can you discover between the ideas of the critics and the growth of scientific thought, the development of Parliament, the emergence of the market economy, and the ideas of the Renaissance?
4. What criticisms do the foreign travelers in France level at the old regime? What relationship do these criticisms have to their frame of reference?

AN ENGLISHMAN'S VIEWS OF FRANCE'S ILLS *

From 1785 to 1789, Arthur Young, an English writer on agricultural topics, traveled through France and kept a journal of what he saw there. He freely recorded his impressions and compared France with his own country. His journal has become a valuable source of information concerning the ills of France in this period.

View the chateau. . .This edifice is a considerable one, built by the present duke; begun about twenty years ago, when he was exiled here during eight years. And, thanks to that banishment, the building went nobly; the body of the house done, and the detached wings almost finished. But as soon as the sentence was reversed, the duke went to Paris, and has not been here since, consequently all now stands still. It is thus that banishment alone will force the French nobility to execute what the English do for pleasure--reside upon and adorn their estates. There is one magnificent circumstance, an elegant and spacious theater; it fills one of the wings. . .

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* Arthur Young, TRAVELS IN FRANCE DURING THE YEARS 1787, 1788, 1789, Miss Betham-Edwards, ed. (George Bell and Sons, London: 1892) pp. 14-154, passim.

October 13, 1787 One opinion pervaded the whole company, that they are on the eve of some great revolution in the government: That everything points to it: The confusion in the finances is great; with a deficit impossible to provide for without the states-general of the kingdom, yet no ideas formed of what would be the consequences of their meeting: no minister existing, or to be looked to in or out of power, with such decisive talents as to promise any. . .remedy. . . .prince on the throne, with excellent dispositions, but without the resources of mind that could govern in such a moment without ministers: a court buried in pleasure and dissipation; and adding to the distress instead of endeavouring to be placed in a more independent situation, . . .a great ferment amongst all ranks of man who are eager for some change, without knowing what to look to, or to hope for: and a strong leaven of liberty, increasing every hour since the American revolution; altogether form a combination of circumstances that promise e're long to ferment into motion, if some master hand of superior talents, and inflexible courage, is not found at the helm to guide events, instead of being driven by them.

October 20, 1787 To the École Militaire, established by Louis XV for the education of 140 youths, the sons of the nobility; such establishments are equally ridiculous and unjust. To educate the son of a man who cannot afford the education himself, is a gross injustice, if you do not secure a situation in life answerable to that education, because nothing but merit ought to give that security. . . .You educate the children of men who are well able to give the education themselves, you tax the people who cannot afford to educate their children, in order to ease those who can well afford the burden; and in such institutions, this is sure to be the case. . . .

Nothing can exceed the complaints made. . . under this head. They speak of dispensation of justice in the manorial courts (courts which were run by the nobles on their estates, independently of the national government) as comprising every species of despotism: the districts indeterminate--appeals endless--irreconcilable to liberty and prosperity--and irrevocably proscribed in the opinion of the public--augmenting litigations--favoring every species of chicane--ruining the parties--not only by the enormous expenses on the most petty objects, but by a dreadful loss of time. The judges commonly ignorant pretenders, who hold their courts in cabarets (taverns), and are almost absolutely dependent on the seigneurs (lords of the manor or estate), in consequence of their feudal powers. . .

In passing through many French provinces, I was struck with the various and heavy complaints of the farmers and the little proprietors of the feudal grievances, with the weight of which their industry was burdened; but I could not then conceive of the multiplicity of shackles which kept them poor and depressed. I understood it better afterwards from the conversations and complaints of some of the grands seigneurs (nobles). . .and I then learned that the principle rental of many estates consisted of services and feudal tenures, by the baneful influence of which the industry of the people was almost exterminated.

THE NATURE OF THE GOVERNMENT *

Madame de Stael, the daughter of Necker, Louis XVI's finance minister, published a volume of Considerations on the Revolution after it was all over. She was generally antagonistic toward pre-revolutionary France, and here she tells what was to blame for the carnage of the Revolution.

The Queen of France, Marie Antoinette, was one of the most amiable and gracious persons ever to sit on the throne. There was no reason that the French should not continue to love her, for she had done nothing to lose their love. The personal character of the Queen and King were thus worthy of affection; but the arbitrary nature of the French government, as the centuries had made it, promoted such evil that even the virtues of the monarchs disappeared in the vast number of abuses with which they were surrounded. When people feel the need of a political reform, the personal characteristics of the monarch are not enough to stop the movements for change. An unhappy chance placed the reign of Louis XVI in a period in which great talents and great inspirations were necessary to struggle with the spirit of the century, or to make (which would have been better) a reasonable compromise with that spirit.

THE COURT **

René-Louis de Voyer, Marquis d'Argenson, though a nobleman who "loved both royalty and the people" and though he had been the King's foreign minister, was particularly vehement in his criticism of pre-revolutionary France during the reign of Louis XV. Here, in one of his more virulent passages, he squarely places the blame for France's ills upon the courtiers at Versailles who surrounded the King and Queen.

The court! The court! In that single word lies all the nation's misfortunes. The court has become the national senate. The lowest valet of Versailles has become a senator; the ladies in waiting are part of the government. If they do not command, they at least prevent the execution of laws and regulations. Because of their influence, there are no longer any laws, regulations, or authorities. It will be even worse when it is a question of reforms in the state, and when those reforms are imperative. Every minister trembles before some valet; and how much truer this is when a favorite has great influence, when the master is too kind and too weak to deal with those about him . . .

* Mme. de Stael, Considerations sur les Principaux Évenements de la Revolution Francaise, (Paris, 1843) p. 25-26. Our translation.

** Marquise d'Argenson, Memoires et journal inédit, (Paris, 1857), vol. V. 349-51. Our translation.

It is the court that corrupts the morals of the nation by its luxury, its extravagance, its artificial manners, its ignorance, and its intrigue. All places, positions, and grades in the army go to the courtiers through favoritism. There is no longer any attempt to rise by merit.

In the finances everything is sold; all the money of the provinces goes to Paris never to return; all the people go there to make fortunes by intrigue. . . .Justice cannot be administered with integrity; the judges fear the grandees, and base their hopes only upon favor. In short the king no longer reigns, and he disregards even the virtues that he has.

Those are the fruits of the establishment by Louis XIV of a capital at Versailles expressly for the court. He was still powerful and gave authority to his ministers. But these are not supported under Louis XV, who distrusts them and prefers his courtiers and his favorite. There is, as a result, anarchy. Favor means influence, and the possession of favor is more important than the rights of authority.

AN AMERICAN'S VIEWS *

> Thomas Jefferson was, in 1789, America's ambassador to France. Though this account is obviously colored by Jefferson's own particular American point of view, it nonetheless is valuable as a clue for assessing the blame for France's ills.

Nor should we wonder at this pressure (for a Constitution) when we consider the monstrous abuses of power under which this people were ground to powder; when we pass in review the weight of their taxes, and when the inequality of their distribution; the oppression of the tithes, the tailles, the corvees, the gabelles, the farms and the barriers; the shackles on commerce by monopolies; on industry by guilds and corporations; on the freedom of conscience, of thought and of speech; on the freedom of the press by censorship, and of the person by lettres de cachet 1/; the cruelty of the criminal code generally; the atrocities of the rack; the venality of judges and their partiality to the rich; the monopoly of military honors by the rich; the queen, the princes and the court; the prodigalities of pensions; and the riches, luxury, indolence, and immorality of the clergy. Surely under such a mass of misrule and oppression, a people might justly press for thorough reformation, and even might dismount their roughshod riders, and leave them to walk on their own legs.

* Thomas Jefferson, AUTOBIOGRAPHY, (New York: 1856), Vol. I, p. 86.

1/ Lettre de cachet was a warrant for arrest. The king or a noble could issue one, the person would then be arrested and put in prison without a trial.

A LIST OF GRIEVANCES *

When Louis XVI called the Estates General in 1789 he asked the various election districts to draw up a list of their grievances and suggested reforms. The following selection from one of these "Cahiers" as they were called, gives further evidence of what changes the French people wanted to make in their government.

1. The deputies of the commons of this city will be instructed to present their desires for the suppression of the existing estates of the province and the drawing up of a new constitution with free and equal representation. And to accomplish this a general assembly of the three orders will be requested. The deputies are to protest against the constitution of the present regime.

3. A declaration of the rights of man and the citizen.

4. Liberty of the press and the security of publications.

5. Abolition of lettres de cachet and every arbitrary act prejudicial to the liberty of the citizen.

13. . . .in the reassessment of taxes all those harmful to commerce and industry must be done away with.

14. Freedom of perpetual lease holders to free themselves from feudal obligations which weigh heavily upon them by means of a payment of . . .compensation to their lords.

READING XLI

LEADERSHIP IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

A casual student of history might get the impression that revolutions are disorderly, spontaneous affairs without direction or leadership. The violence and suddenness of change together with the demolition of the old rules and institutions do make revolutions chaotic events. Despite the confusion, leaders rise and maintain power as they do in more normal times to try to direct the revolution to a fruitful conclusion.

A study of political leadership in a revolutionary situation, therefore can serve as an excellent vehicle for understanding the revolution as a whole. Studying how leaders gain and maintain support reveals the shifting bases of power in the upheaval. Examining their backgrounds reveals the social movements

* From the CAHIERS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (Cahier of the Third Estate of Beaucaire) translated by Norma F. Good.

of the revolution. An investigation into the programs of the leaders will shed light on the new principles that are being promoted.

Reading XLI consists of four short biographies of French revolutionary leaders. These biographies can be used to develop some hypotheses about what directions the French Revolution took. As you read, therefore, consider the following questions.

1. **What analytical questions would you ask to analyze leadership in the French Revolution?**
2. **What kind of men were the four leaders? What similarities do you notice in the way they achieved power? In their social backgrounds? In their programs?**
3. **What hypotheses could you develop about the political and social changes attempted by the Revolution from these biographies? How would you go about validating these hypotheses?**
4. **What relationships can you discover between the leadership patterns of the French Revolution and the criticisms of the old regime?**

THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

A. Le Comte de Mirabeau (1749-1791)

Honoré Gabriel Requeti, le Comte de Mirabeau, was born of noble parents. His great-grandfather, some sixty years before his birth, had purchased the noble title with money his ancestors had made in a very successful merchant enterprise in Marseilles. Mirabeau's father disliked his son for the young count was disfigured at age three by smallpox. As heir to his father's title, however, Mirabeau was educated at a military school in Paris and was later married to a wealthy heiress. His father had him imprisoned on a lettre de cachet after he had written a book denouncing despotism. He escaped from prison, however, to Switzerland and then Holland where again he was apprehended on a lettre and put in prison. He had been sentenced to die for having fled his earlier imprisonment. He was released in 1782, however, in spite of the fact that he wrote a book criticizing the French constitution as being inflexible. He took part in a law case and his denunciation of French officials once more forced him into exile, this time in England where he became acquainted with English public officials and the English cabinet form of government. He later sent his mistress to obtain a job for him in the French foreign office, and he would have had it had he not written an anti-government pamphlet. He was invited to

be a member of the Assembly of Notables in 1787, and hoped to be elected its secretary. An ill-timed pamphlet once again ruined his chances. When the Estates General was summoned he tried to obtain a seat in the Second Estate, or noble house. He was rebuffed, however, so he ran for the Third Estate and won a seat.

In the first stages of the revolution, Mirabeau swiftly became one of the acknowledged leaders of the National Assembly. He knew what he wanted--a government modeled on that of England with the rich landowners and merchants in the saddle--and he was therefore able to appear unconfused amidst the confusion. When the King tried to regain the confidence of the Third Estate by proposing a series of reforms, Mirabeau rallied the deputies to press on with the revolution with a short speech reminding them that the King should take orders from them, not the reverse.

Mirabeau proposed and was put on a committee to draft a new constitution. He wanted to set up a workable government on which the foundations of liberty could be based. He hoped to create a cabinet system with the ministers of government elected from the legislature, as in England. But the theorists favoring separation of powers were in control in the committee and Mirabeau could not win them to his point of view. The theorizers spent more time discussing their abstract ideas of liberty than laying the basic groundwork in a practical constitution. He then turned to the King and tried to convince him to support a ministerial system with Mirabeau as prime minister. But the King would have none of it. Mirabeau then attempted to persuade the National Assembly to appoint him and other notable men in France as ministers, but it refused. He tried to ally with Lafayette who controlled the national guard, but the latter lacked the courage. With his strength sapped due to his great exertions and a rather loose life in his youth, Mirabeau died in 1791.

B. Maximilien Robespierre (1758-1794)

Robespierre, son of a trial lawyer, had a notably undistinguished career before the revolution. His father left home after his mother died, and he was raised by various relatives. He went to college in Paris where he learned the doctrines of Rousseau and became a fanatic advocate of them. Upon graduating from college he returned to his small home town of Arras to practice law. He was appointed criminal judge in the church court of his diocese but soon resigned for he opposed the death sentence. Thereafter he became a moderately successful trial lawyer. He joined a literary society in his home town and was respected there as a fine orator and writer. By virtue of his writing ability he was elected as a deputy to the Estates General.

He wholeheartedly supported the creation of the National Assembly out of the Third Estate and spoke in its behalf. As a member of the National Assembly he did not participate in the drawing up of the new constitution. In fact, he earned the hatred of many of the deputies for his inflammatory speeches for radical measures. Rebuffed by his colleagues, he turned to making speeches to the Parisians. He joined the Jacobin Club and became one of its avowed leaders. He so won the confidence of the Parisians that they declared him one of two "incorruptible patriots" of the revolution.

When the National Assembly disbanded in 1791, Robespierre became public prosecuter of Paris. He resigned from this post to publish a journal, The Defense of the Constitution, in which he attacked the government for its war policy. His writings were instrumental in getting the Paris mob to overthrow the King, though he took no active part in the actual act. After the insurrection he joined the Paris Commune, which had organized and led the ouster of the King. The leaders of the Paris Commune welcomed him, not because they liked him or favored his policies, but because of his reputation with the Parisians and his influence in the Jacobin Club which had branches all over France. Through him, the commune leaders hoped to control the whole country.

Robespierre was elected a deputy to the Convention from Paris, and upon taking his seat was almost immediately attacked by the moderate Girondin Party for his extreme views. The Girondins feared him because of the great influence he had in Paris. The dispute between Robespierre and the Girondins reached a head over the execution of the King, and when Robespierre's position for executing the monarch carried the day, a number of influential members of the Convention rallied to his side. With the support of the Jacobin Club and the Paris Commune he was instrumental in having the Girondin party disbanded and its members arrested and executed. The Terror had begun.

Robespierre was elected a member of the Committee of Public Safety. The majority of the members had little use for his ideas. They saw the Terror as a means of protecting the country in time of war while Robespierre saw it as a means to advance French society on the road to a Rousseauian Utopia. Working for the same methods, however, the others ran the Terror while Robespierre justified it with his eloquent speeches in the Convention. In June of 1794, to bring about the fulfillment of his ideas, Robespierre had the pace of the Terror stepped up after he had rallied the Parisians to his support. The Committee had to go along or face the possibility of another Paris uprising. In six weeks 1,285 victims were sliced by the guillotine's blade. But resistance to Robespierre's policies was growing. He retired for a month to think out his position. In the meantime he was bitterly attacked in the Convention. He returned to the Convention on July 26 to announce his policy, but he was assailed by his opponents with cries of "Crush the tyrant." He was arrested, rescued by the Commune, but eventually apprehended and guillotined on July 28, 1794.

C. Abbé Sieyès (1748-1836)

Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès was born of substantial bourgeois parents in southern France. His parents were determined to make him a priest, though Sieyès wished instead to be a soldier. He was a weak child, however, so his parents' wishes prevailed. He entered the Sorbonne, in Paris, to obtain his theological education, but while there became interested in the philosophy of John Locke, the English philosopher, and spent more time learning it than theology. Upon his graduation from the Sorbonne he entered the Church and became a high official in the diocese of Chartres. His career was typical of provincial clergymen--respected in his diocese but little known in the rest of the country. He wrote one work entitled Essay on Privilege in which he decried the system of privilege which made the nobles parasites of the economy of France.

He was catapulted to national prominence in 1788 with the publication What Is The Third Estate. "What is the Third Estate?" the pamphlet asked. It answered, "Everything." "What has it been hitherto in the political order?" it goes on. "Nothing." "What does it wish to become? Something." Sieyès proceeded to suggest that the Third Estate should declare itself the national assembly and legislate a change in the constitution with or without the nobles, depending upon whether or not they chose to join the commoners. This pamphlet became the Third Estate's manifesto of revolution.

When the Estates General met in May of 1789, Sieyès proposed a motion embodying the ideas he had suggested in his pamphlet. The motion carried and the revolution began. He was elected as a member of the committee to draft the constitution and made his most significant contribution in the reform of local government. But he began to lose influence in the National Assembly as more determined men pressed their ideas more forcefully. At this point, Sieyès' career went into a long eclipse for he had neither the taste nor the will to fight for his ideas against the determined band of patriots who had seized control of the revolution.

Sieyès emerged again in 1795 as a member of the Convention who helped draft the constitution of that year. But he opposed the system of directors which was established as the executive power and rather than urge the Convention to adopt his ideas he quit in disgust. He was appointed ambassador to Prussia by the Directory. As the government fell into greater confusion, lost more support, and got into deeper financial difficulty, Sieyès saw the opportunity to overthrow the regime and establish a constitution embodying his ideas. He returned to France in 1798, was elected a Director and immediately began to scheme to overthrow the government. He hoped to establish a government which, as he put it, "would have confidence from below and authority from above." He joined with Napoleon Bonaparte who had returned from Egypt and together they seized control of the government. Sieyès wrote the constitution which was to be the basis of the new regime and submitted it to Napoleon. Bonaparte thereupon altered it to suit his wishes. Sieyès retired to the Senate where he became an advocate of Napoleon's policies. In 1805 he retired from active political life and lived to the ripe old age of eighty-eight. He died peacefully in 1836.

D. Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821)

Napoleon was born in Corsica shortly after that island was acquired by France from an Italian state. His father was of noble birth but practiced law. Because Corsica had not been French for long the Bonaparte family had not become embroiled in French politics. Napoleon's father took him to Paris where he put him in the École Militaire. He graduated a competent artillery officer schooled in the latest techniques of warfare. When his father died in 1785 Napoleon was designated head of the family even though he was the second son. Napoleon served garrison duty until the revolution came when he returned to Corsica to see to family affairs. There he found his older brother Joseph deeply involved in the Democratic Party. Napoleon greeted the revolution both ardently and with dispassion. He was not very concerned with the reforms of the National Assembly but he did join the Jacobin club.

During the first years of the revolution he served garrison duty in southern France and was promoted to lieutenant when the army was reorganized. During this period he wrote a short essay affirming the principles of Rousseau. When the war came his growing zeal for the revolution earned him a promotion to captain. He wrote a pamphlet asserting the need for Jacobin type centralization of the government. He gained some renown as the officer who figured most heavily in the recapture of Toulon from the counter-revolutionary army and was promoted to general of the brigade. In February of 1794 he was given command of the artillery in Italy. During the Reign of Terror he was in Italy inspecting fortifications. During this time his career was at low ebb after his rapid rise. There were no opportunities in Italy, for the general was a coward and refused to attack; the fall of the Jacobins put him on the wrong side in politics; and his financial situation grew worse and worse.

When a Paris mob marched on the Convention in protest to the new Constitution of 1795, Napoleon, who happened to be in Paris, was given the job of defending the government. He ingeniously dispersed the mob by firing a load of "grape shot" or bits and pieces of metal out of a cannon as the crowd marched up a narrow street. Napoleon had saved the Convention. As a reward he was given command of the army in Italy and here he once more put the government in his debt. He fought the war and won it by living off the land, thus avoiding a serious drain on the French treasury. Not only did he not cost the government anything, but he sent home money which filled the coffers of the republic. Without government interference, he concluded the peace of Campo-Formio which eliminated Austrian influence in Italy and established little republics which would be subservient to France. Once again he saved the government from toppling by dispatching his aide, Augereau, to carry out a coup d'état to rescue it.

Napoleon was then put in charge of making plans for the invasion of England. Believing a channel invasion to be hopeless, he schemed to cut off England's trade to India, and set off for Egypt with an army to accomplish this goal. While in Egypt he learned that the government in France was about to fall so he hurried home, leaving his army behind, to intrigue his way to power. He arrived almost too late--the crisis had passed. But in league with Abbé Sieyès and some other influential Frenchmen he seized power by a coup d'état in 1799.

Once in power he began to act quickly and decisively. He centralized control of the French government, first with the constitution which gave him tremendous personal authority and second by appointing personally the governors of the 85 departments. This immediately reduced the confusion which had marked the revolution from the start. Napoleon proclaimed a new currency to replace the worthless money which had been established in the revolution. He revised the tax code which removed the injustices. He built up the treasury of the government and thereby made lending agencies less apprehensive about loaning the government money. In the first three years of his rule he ended the war which had been going on for ten years, successfully completed an agreement with the Pope who had been against the revolution since 1791, and began work on a series of law codes which simplified and stabilized the work of the revolution.

Napoleon was made Emperor of the French in 1803 and in 1806 began his quest to extend the revolution and his authority to the rest of Europe. He was spectacularly successful, gaining control of Italy, the western Germanies, and he even gained influence in Prussia and Austria. He invaded Russia in 1812 but was defeated there by the harsh winter and the skillful generalship of the commander of the Russian forces. This ultimately led to his final defeat in 1814 and he was exiled to Elba in the Mediterranean Sea. He returned for 100 days in 1815, but was defeated at Waterloo by the English Duke of Wellington. This time the European powers sent him far off, to the Island of St. Helena off the coast of South America, where he died in 1821 dictating his memoires.

READING XLII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE WESTERN TRADITION

The French Revolution was one of those movements which crystallized in one event the elements of the past and the energies of the future. It was like a chemical reaction in which the various substances inherited from the past were thrown together, reacted with each other, and were passed on to posterity in modified form. The French Revolution was, at once, the product of and the producer of western traditions. It was shaped by those traditions, it accommodated the forces for change within them, and regurgitated them into the nineteenth century to shape the events to come.

The French Revolution was not the only revolution in the eighteenth century; indeed, it was not even the first. The English colonists in America took steps in 1776 to sever their relations with the mother country. The resulting upheaval brought on a movement to rework the structure of government and society in both England and America. Similar outbreaks occurred in Holland, Poland, Switzerland and Italy. None of these revolts, however, produced great changes. Most of them only eliminated aspects of traditional society that had remained through the centuries.

The break down of the traditional medieval society had been slow and painful. Here and there remnants of the old ways remained in a new age. Though the Renaissance had turned men's concerns earthward, religion continued to be a potent force in men's lives. For many men, obtaining salvation after death was still more important than creating heaven on earth. Though science had established a new authority for truth, the minds of men were still heavily influenced by superstition. The emergence of the market economy had still not swept away many of the traditional customs of manor and guild. The development of representative institutions of government had still not removed the concentration of power in comparatively few hands.

In large measure, the revolutions of the eighteenth century aimed at destroying the traditional order once and for all. Yet they also attempted to retain the elements of the western tradition. The Greek belief in the great potential of man, the Roman concept of the rule of law, and the Christian belief in the equality of men before God were all to be incorporated in the new societies. The changes in the political, economic, and social systems were to be consolidated and freed from their medieval trappings.

All the revolutions of the eighteenth century attempted to finish the work of centuries of change. All over Europe men tried to scrap the remains of traditional society and build modern political, economic, and social systems. But the French Revolution captured the spirit of the times more completely than any of the others. France had inherited all of the problems resulting from the tension between the traditional society and the forces for change, and it was the task of her revolution to solve them.

The Revolution inherited the problems arising from the Protestant Reformation. Bitter conflict had marked all of Europe since the Protestant revolt, and France was no exception. Henry IV had renounced his Protestant faith when he became King, but by the Edict of Nantes he granted religious toleration to the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called. Louis XIV had repealed this Edict and violently suppressed the Protestants. Religious toleration became one of the key demands of the philosophers of the Enlightenment. In one of its earliest acts, the National Assembly granted religious freedom to all people.

The Renaissance contributed to the climate in which the Revolution took place by transmitting the classical traditions of Greece and Rome. Perhaps a more important contribution, however, was the intellectual atmosphere the Renaissance encouraged by turning Europeans' attention to problems of this world. The same attitude which encouraged Columbus to seek a new route to the Orient or Copernicus a more accurate picture of the universe or Cellini a more beautiful work of art encouraged the French to seek a better order for society. From the Renaissance and its child, the Enlightenment, came a new optimism--a belief that man could be perfected by perfecting his society. Armed with this confidence the revolutionists took that task upon themselves.

The new science gave the revolutionists the tool with which they believed they could perfect society. Science postulated the idea that man's reason was enough to solve the most intricate problem. By using reason man had discovered the natural laws which governed the workings of the universe. As man learned about Nature and learned that Nature was good, he logically assumed that reason could also discover the natural laws by which society might be organized and that this society would also be good. Heeding the advice of the philosophers who had gone before, the revolutionists consciously attempted to create a society based on natural law which gave men natural rights.

The development of the market economy released economic and social forces which also had to be accommodated within the revolution. The market economy spurred a rise in the general prosperity of France. This new prosperity gave men hope for a brighter future of more goods and less misery. When the promise did not materialize or was set back by depression, the expectations of men were unfulfilled and they resented the disappointment. They turned against the society which would deny them what they believed their due. And they had ample justification for turning against the French government, for the old regime had established a complicated and oppressive set of commercial laws which had burdened the economy. Guild restrictions, customs duties, and state monopolies had all kept the French economy from realizing its full potential. Enterprising businessmen were forever facing restrictions which limited their freedom to invest in profitable ventures while the laws and regulations encouraged men to put their money into buying offices, titles, and tax immunity, none of which would produce economic growth. The revolution attempted to do away with these barriers to economic development by simplifying the commercial laws and encouraging needed investment.

The economic revolution also gave rise to new social classes which became increasingly important in the society. By and large, however, these social classes were excluded from the enjoyment of political power and social prestige. The merchants and the bankers invested heavily in the economy and the fruits of their investment increased the well-being of the entire society. Nonetheless they were denied the rewards of status and power they felt was their right. Still another class was being fashioned by the new economy - an urban working class. A society built upon feudal privilege and land ownership could accommodate the urban worker even less well than it could make room for the businessman who, at least, had wealth to compensate for his grievances. Meanwhile, as commerce became a more important source of wealth, the nobility, which derived its wealth from land ownership, became less and less important in the economic system. However, the nobles retained the social prestige accorded them by ancient feudal privileges. The revolution was in large part an attempt to bring the social and political structure into line with the new economic and class realities. Most of the revolutionists were bourgeois, or middle class, in origin, and they directed the revolution to favor their class. The proletariate, or urban working class, was still not large enough to be powerful, yet it made its first attempt at reorganizing society to suit its wishes in the revolution. Needless to say, though the revolution went a long way toward facing up to the economic and social realities that had come with the development of the market economy, large problems still remained after the revolutionary fervor ebbed away.

In the centuries before the revolution France, along with other countries of Europe, had established a new idea of community--the nation state. Under the leadership of powerful monarchs who fashioned the nation states, the old definitions of community - the manor, the town, or the Christian empire - began to lose their holding power. A new loyalty--loyalty to the state as embodied in the monarch--began to supplant the old loyalties. The French Revolution inherited this trend and modified it by defining the state not as the dominion of the monarch but as the association of free and equal brothers. The nation, militantly upholding the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, came to command the intense patriotism of the French people.

The nation states had been constructed at the expense of the nobility and the Church, both of which had competed with the Kings for the loyalty of the people. In order to reduce the authority of the aristocracy and the Church, the Kings had had to increase their own. The development of authoritarian regimes took place all over Europe, but nowhere more than in the France of Louis XIV. Louis completed the centralization of power begun by his predecessors so that by the end of his reign he controlled the Church, the nobility, the local governments, and, in large measure, the very lives of the French people. The revolution, after reversing this trend temporarily, continued the movement toward authoritarian, centralized government. The Committee of Public Safety and Napoleon Bonaparte extended and enlarged their power far beyond what Louis XIV ever dreamed was possible. Only additional wars and revolutions restored democracy to France.

At the same time the revolution also inherited the opposite trend of western civilization - the development of democratic institutions which had begun in Athens. These ideas had been given new force by the Renaissance and the Reformation, particularly in Calvin's _Institutes of the Christian Religion_. The Anglo-Saxon countries of England and the United States had contributed greatly to the development of democratic institutions in the political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The French Revolution adopted the principle of a representative government which was responsible to the people. Government by the consent of the governed was one of the cardinal principles of the _Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen_. Every French government since 1789 has paid at least nodding homage to the principle.

That two apparently contradicting ideas such as authoritarian and democratic institutions should be accommodated within the same movement might at first seem impossible. But upon closer examination it is apparent that the authority of the Committee of Public Safety and Napoleon sprang from the democratic principles. They were, in fact, "democratic tyrants." Their authority was derived from what Rousseau called the "General Will." In both cases the people willingly gave the dictators their authority, through a legal election, by consenting to submit willingly to their wishes.

Similarly the revolution inherited the disparate ideas of inequality and equality. Inequality between men had been an accepted fact of life since civilization began. The priests and rulers who elevated themselves over the common herd in ancient civilizations had set the pattern. Even in democratic Athens only a minority of the people enjoyed equal rights, foreigners, women and slaves being excluded from the full protection of the laws. Rome had begun as a society of classes--patricians and plebs--and the extension of the empire created a new distinction between Roman citizens and non-citizens. The feudal social structure of the Middle Ages gave privileges to the nobility and denied basic human dignity to the serfs and peasants. Even the democratic religion of Calvin separated men into two groups--the elect of God and the non-elect. At the same time a belief that men were equal and should be treated equally was a strong counter current in western civilization. The Greeks, while recognizing differences between themselves and foreigners, also recognized that all men were alike in that they all were different from beasts and gods. The philosophers of Rome also accepted this principle. The Christian religion was based on the belief that all men were children of God and were thereby equal in His eyes.

The French Revolution perpetuated both trends. By classifying Frenchmen either as citizens or active citizens according to the amount of taxes they paid, the revolutionists made men unequal. At the same time the revolution guaranteed to all men equal treatment in the courts of law and granted them certain basic rights of life, liberty and property. In reconciling the two trends, the French Revolution established a new basis for inequality which, in fact, made men more equal. That is, the French Revolution abolished the notion that certain men should be born into positions of privilege while other men should not. Men were born equal, the revolutionists claimed, and should be given equal rights and privileges from birth. But some men, they said, would make better use of their opportunities than others and would contribute more to society. These men, they held, should be given more privileged treatment by the society and should be allowed a larger role in running society's affairs.

The Revolution in France had tried to accommodate the forces for change that had been building for centuries. Though the Revolution itself was a sudden act, attempting to destroy and rebuild overnight, it would never have been possible without the long centuries of change that had preceded it. Without a Renaissance, the men of the Revolution would not have felt compelled to make their earthly life better. Without the growth of Parliament, the revolutionaries would have had no model for establishing a workable representative system of government. Without the growth of the market, there would have been no class of men alienated from the cultural and political life of the nation. Without the development of science, the Revolution would not have had a tool for reconstructing society. And without the absolutism of Louis XIV there would have been no nation state and no old regime to change.

With all of these changes taking place bit by bit, why was there a need for a sudden change--revolutionary change? France had only partially accommodated the forces for change within its social, political, and economic system. As a result a great tension developed between the new and the old. The old regime refused to give way rapidly enough before evolutionary change. Frenchmen, who were anxious to complete the destruction of the traditional society, felt compelled to wreck it with one blow.

When the blow fell, all Europe shuddered. Old regimes in all corners of the continent hastily made preparations to defend themselves. Even England, the most liberal of all nations, violated its own declaration of rights to suppress the radical elements in society who wished to hasten the advance toward democracy. But the blow was too strong. The old regimes were able to ward it off only for a time. Napoleon's troops, marching across all the boundaries of Europe, spread the doctrine of "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité." These words became the great rallying cry for the next century. One by one the governments of Europe fell, stricken by the might of the Revolution. The last to tumble crumbled away before a handful of Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917.

UNIT XI

ECONOMIC GROWTH IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BRITAIN

Stating the Issue

English society began to change rapidly in the eighteenth century. It did not change everywhere, nor was everyone involved, but by the end of century a considerable proportion of the English people lived quite different lives from those of their grandparents. Where a man in 1700 may have followed his ox through the field of a manor, his descendant tended a spinning machine in a new factory powered by steam near the banks of a river. The quaint country cottage gave way to the grimy tenement, the rhythm of the seasons to the demands of the time clock. But the most dramatic change of all was in England's productive capacity. By the end of the century, the nation produced thirty times as much cloth each year as she had at its beginning. Similar rapid strides characterized changes in other industries as well.

What caused this dramatic growth in England's economy? This is a vital question to men of the twentieth century, particularly in the underdeveloped lands where men are engaged in a pell-mell race to keep productivity ahead of rapidly growing populations. The British example may provide Asians and Africans with some of the answers to their present problems. At least it can provide students with analytical tools they can use to investigate economic growth in the contemporary world. No problem is more crucial to our future, for upon its solution depends the living standards of billions of people and perhaps the future of freedom itself.

Unit XI provides you with evidence for determining what caused economic growth in eighteenth century Britain. Instead of developing hypotheses in class discussion as we have in the past, each student will write an independent research paper based on the material provided in the unit. In the pages that follow you will find excerpts from a number of eighteenth century sources as well as passages from the work of twentieth century historians and economists and tables containing statistics.

The unit has two main purposes. The first is to teach each student about the complex factors which spurred economic growth in Great Britain in the eighteenth century. The second is to introduce him to the techniques of writing research papers. In the introduction to the unit you will find directions for doing research and for writing your results in proper style. Once you learn these techniques, using controlled materials such as those provided here, you should be able to apply them to independent research in a library.

READINGS XLIII - XLVI

DIRECTIONS FOR A RESEARCH PAPER

The purpose of this paper is twofold: first, to teach basic research techniques, and second, to provide an opportunity to study in depth some aspects of economic growth in eighteenth century England.

You are to attack or defend the following statement, using as evidence only the material provided:

"The take-off in the economy of Great Britain in the eighteenth century was caused by the rapid growth of the cotton textile industry."

On the pages that follow you will find excerpts taken from a number of sources. Most of the pages are facsimiles of the original books. All of the pages bear the same numbers that appeared in the original volume in which the extract was published. When you take notes and make footnotes you should refer to the original title of the book (this is generally found on a title page beginning the selection) and the page numbers of the published volume.

At the end of the paper you should include a bibliography, or a list of the sources you consulted in the course of your research. The bibliography should be arranged alphabetically according to the last name of the author. Each source should be listed in the following manner.

Ashton, Thomas S., An Economic History of England; The Eighteenth Century, (New York, 1954)

Bibliographies for historical research papers should be subdivided according to the types of sources used. In the excerpts that follow you will find two kinds of material: primary sources, or those books, letters, diaries, and other works written during the period under investigation and secondary sources, or those articles and books written by scholars who lived after the period in question. Secondary sources can be further categorized according to whether or not the evidence appeared in a book or in a journal article. When you write your bibliography you should classify your sources according to this scheme. For example:

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

Defoe, Daniel, A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain, (London, 1963).

Young, Arthur, The Farmer's Tour through the East of England, (London, 1771)

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. Books

Ashton, Thomas S., An Economic History of England: The Eighteenth Century, (New York, 1954)

Heaton, Herbert, Economic History of Europe, (New York, 1948)

B. Journal Articles

Rostow, W. W., "The Take-Off into Self Sustained Growth," in The Economic Journal, LXVI, March: 1956.

Take notes on 4 x 6 or 5 x 8 file cards or pieces of paper. At the top right-hand corner of each card indicate the subject with which the notes on that card deal. Do not include material about more than one subject on one card. Here is a sample card:

> **Ashton, Economic Growth, 20** **English Class Structure**
>
> **(20) English society had a class structure with many rungs. Russia had few people between nobles and peasants. Not so in Eng.: Nobles, squires, freeholders and farmers merged together where the classes met. Landed families had sons who engaged in trade. Many bankers later bought farms. Class gradations made rungs in a ladder. People far down ladder imitated those above them and struggled to climb. "They were the product of centuries of history - a fact that has not been sufficiently appreciated by those, who, looking at English progress in technology and wealth lightly assume that similar results can be obtained with equal speed...in communities of undifferentiated peasants today."**
>
> **(This social structure would speed economic growth by helping to make people ambitious and hard working.)**

A few words of explanation may help you to understand this system of note taking:

1. **The heading in the upper right-hand corner of the note card indicates the topic with which the note is concerned. Take information on only one topic on a note card. As soon as you find information about another subject, use another card. This procedure will help you to organize your cards for writing the paper when your research is finished. You may find information about class structure in several places. If you do so, you will have several note cards about this topic in your collection. You can then place these together and make up your mind about the relationship of class structure and economic growth when you begin to write.**

2. The source from which the information came is indicated in the upper left-hand corner. Every note that you take should indicate the author of the article, a brief title of the article, and the page on which the information was found. This information is in abbreviated form to save time. Full bibliographic information goes on a separate 3 x 5 bibliography card.

3. The number in parentheses at the beginning of the note indicates the page number from which the note was taken. If part of a note comes from a second page, enter that page number in parentheses in the text of your note. Only when you know the exact page from which a note was taken can you footnote your paper accurately.

4. Separate by brackets your own inferences drawn from the evidence in your notes. You will often have bright ideas as you read, and you should note these down immediately, but only if you mark them off, by brackets or by some other device, can you be certain when you write what ideas are yours and which have been taken from a source.

5. Direct quotations are enclosed within quotation marks. Other information is paraphrased, that is, it is written in the words of the person taking the note, not in the words of the original.

You will also need a bibliography card for each source which you use:

Ashton, T. S., An Economic History of England:
The Eighteenth Century, (New York, 1954).

When you have taken notes on all the material in this unit, arrange the note cards according to subject headings. Then arrange the notes within each subject heading in a logical order. From this arrangement, make an outline of your entire paper. You are then ready to begin to write.

Remember that history is a way of reading and writing and that all history is interpretation. You have been given a subject for the paper and you must take a stand upon the topic. You may agree entirely with the statement, disagree with it entirely or take some position within these extremes. In any case you must be able to support your position with specific evidence from the reading.

Footnote three types of information:

1. all direct quotations enclosed within quotation marks.
2. opinions or matters of interpretation which you have taken from an author.
3. factual information which is not common knowledge.

Use the following footnote form:

For the first reference to an article:

1. T. S. Ashton, An Economic History of England: The Eighteenth Century, (New York, 1954), 20.
2. Ashton, Economic History, 22.

Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout the entire paper.

You will spend at least four days on this project working both in class and at home. In class your teacher will help you in individual conferences if you encounter any problems. Write the first draft of your paper using every other line in order to make revision easier. Your final draft must be in ink or typewritten; leave ample margins so that your teacher can comment freely.

ECONOMIC GROWTH IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BRITAIN

INTRODUCTION

The economic transformation of England in the late eighteenth century was apparent to contemporary Englishmen. No one could ignore the rapid growth of population or fail to see those new masses crowding into old cities and rising factory towns. Travelers noticed the dramatic changes which were transforming agriculture. The new-fashioned whir of machines assailed the ears of the visitor to the overcrowded and unsanitary streets of factory towns. Across the land turnpikes and canals emphasized to all that a new day was at hand.

About a century later, in the early 1880's, the elder Arnold Toynbee popularized the term, "Industrial Revolution," in a series of lectures at Oxford University. The population increase, agricultural reform, widespread industrial invention, and factory economy seemed truly revolutionary to him. As Toynbee saw it, industrialism burst about the year 1760 upon a country essentially unchanged for centuries. England had been transformed almost overnight from a paradise of simple husbandmen living happy and useful lives into an industrial hell, its workers sentenced to stoke the fiery furnaces of the new age. Britain had suddenly to grapple with distinctly different social, economic and political problems.

By the late 1920's, however, a number of historians had begun to question each aspect of the Toynbee thesis. Some scholars pointed to changes in ways of production as early as the sixteenth century; others argued that many industries had continued to employ crude hand methods well into the nineteen hundreds. A number of the alleged evil effects of the new industrial world were shown to have been present for centuries in English rural communities; others were traced to governmental policy or the lack of scientific information. Textbook writers began to place the term, Industrial Revolution, within quotation marks to indicate their skepticism of its accuracy.

Emphasis shifted gradually from interest in revolutionary change to a study of the entire process of "economic growth," a term which economists since the Second World War have applied to the process by which static, agricultural economies transform themselves into dynamic, industrial societies. Discussions of economic growth fill the daily press, and congressmen devote hours of debate to the topic. Scholars from all over the world have contributed to these discussions and have built up a vast literature concerning economic development. In recent years they have begun to devise theories of economic growth. Perhaps the best known of these has been proposed by Walt Whitman Rostow, Professor of History and Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a State Department official under the Kennedy administration. In each case of growth, Rostow argues that five distinct stages are evident:

1. The Traditional Society, a stage lasting for many centuries in which mechanisms of production are based upon pre-Newtonian science, technology, and attitudes.

2. The Preconditions for Take-Off, a stage of slow change over a long period, often a century or more, during which preliminary conditions for industrialization are established.

3. The Take-Off, a stage lasting two or three decades, during which the process of industrialization sharply quickens.

4. The Drive to Maturity, a stage of sustained progress for a long period, during which modern technology is extended over all major industry.

5. The Age of High Mass Consumption, a stage where productive energies are shifted away from capital goods toward durable goods and services for the consumer.

The third of these periods, the "take-off," is central to the hypothesis. For two or three decades society increases the rate of investment in new plants and equipment. Then, when these additional factories and tools are fully manned, per capita production increases rapidly. Usually factory owners make large profits which they reinvest in their business for new plants and equipment. This process of building new plants, making large profits, building additional plants, and still further increasing the store of capital through reinvestment of profits--and all this within a short time period--helped to make the take-off period in England appear revolutionary to scholars a century later.

In this transformation period, small social and economic groups must have the desire and the ability to take advantage of opportunities for economic development; they must introduce new techniques of production. For a real "take-off," society must be ready to respond to the possibilities for change. Hence, says Rostow, political, social, and economic institutions must be organized in such a manner that they promote, rather than retard, economic development. Banks, or in some cases the government, must be prepared to mobilize capital for investment purposes, and people with excess funds must be willing to invest them in industry. Farmers must stand ready to embrace new techniques in order to feed the growing army of factory hands. The government may actively promote growth by investing in canals or turnpikes, or it may merely provide a framework of legislation, such as patent laws or enclosure acts, which will encourage new enterprise.

Rostow's theoretical structure evolved from studies of the process of economic growth in many countries at many time periods. No two countries have developed in exactly the same way. In some nations, major changes in political and social structure and in cultural values had to precede industrialization: in others where population was less rooted in traditional ways, such far-reaching transformations were unnecessary. Differences in natural and social resources, in the industries which triggered take-offs, and in many other factors made the course of economic growth differ from one nation to the next. Despite these substantial variations in patterns of growth, the model which Professor Rostow had developed is useful as an analytical tool with which to examine any economy.

An Economic History of England: The 18th Century

by

T. S. ASHTON
Professor Emeritus of Economic History in the University of London, London School of Economics

From T. S. Ashton, AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND: THE 18th CENTURY (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1954) 20-22.

This excerpt from Ashton explains the demographic changes in 18th century England, notably the reasons behind the rapid increase in population and the fluid class structure of the nation.

BARNES & NOBLE INC.
NEW YORK
1954

A POLITICAL SURVEY OF BRITAIN

By JOHN CAMPBELL

VOLUME II

LONDON, 1774

A NOBLEMAN of the Firſt Rank formed a Deſign of making a Canal from Worſley Bridge to Mancheſter, in the County of Lancaſter, for the carrying thither his Coals; which not being barely for his own, but alſo for the publick Benefit, an Act of Parliament paſſed in Anno Domini 1759, to enable him to undertake this Work, with all the proper Clauſes for ſecuring the Advantages that had been propoſed to the Community. After the Canal was actually begun, it was thought practicable to carry it over the River Irwell upon Arches, and ſo over Trafford Moſs to Longford Bridge, which made another Act neceſſary; and ſuch a Law being obtained, this ſtupendous Work was carried into effectual Execution [s]. The Value of this Mode of Navigation came from thence to be better underſtood, and the very extenſive Uſes to which it might be applied were more clearly comprehended. In conſequence of theſe Diſcoveries it was determined to carry the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal over the Rivers Merſey and Bolland, and to continue it to that Part of the River Merſey, overagainſt the Hemp Stones, in the County of Cheſter, where that River is naturally navigable, and the Paſſage conſequently open to Liverpool. The Powers requiſite for the Performance of this made a Third Act neceſſary, which, upon the Petition of the Inhabitants of the Country through which the propoſed Canal was to paſs, and who were to be benefited by it, was likewiſe obtained, the Duke taking upon himſelf the whole Expence, and this without demanding any Augmentation of Tonage [t].

THIS

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[s] We owe many of our national Benefits to happy Experiments, and the Conſequences that have unexpectedly followed them; and we might have owed more, if all our Artiſts had been endowed with Mr. Brindley's Sagacity, and their Patrons with the Perſeverance and publick Spirit of the Duke of Bridgewater. The original Scheme of the Canal was, to carry it from Worſley to Salford near Mancheſter, both on the ſame Side of the River Irwell, as the Firſt Act of Parliament ſhews. But when this Deſign was changed, and the Second Act obtained for carrying the Canal over the River by Barton Bridge, which implied a Neceſſity of raiſing the low Ground to preſerve the Level, and to carry the Canal over Roads, and in a Variety of Directions, it was by the People in the Country generally concluded impracticable. But when, by Reſources equally ſingular and extraordinary, this was effected, and the Canal proceeded in ſpite of all Obſtructions, they changed their Sentiments, and rightly concluded, that by a due Application of Skill, Labour, and Expence, a Canal might be carried on through every Kind of Soil, to any Extent, and without Danger of meeting any inſurmountable Obſtacle.

[t] Upon peruſing this Act, it will appear, that, in granting Powers to his Grace, the Legiſlature kept publick Utility in View, and provided that all the Benefits propoſed by this new Navigation ſhould be effectually ſecured. Strict Regard is paid to private Property, proper Means aſſigned for ſpeedy Deciſion in caſe of any Diſputes, and, which deſerves particular Notice, the Completion of the Work is limited to a ſhort Term. It is aſſerted, that Two thouſand Ton of Goods went annually by Land Carriage from Liverpool to Mancheſter, at the Rate of between Thirty and Forty Shillings per Ton, that is, to the Amount of at leaſt Three thouſand Pounds per Annum. On the Duke's Canal they muſt be carried for Six Shillings, Freight and Tonage included, that is, the Whole for Six hundred Pounds. The Firſt Bend of this Canal paſſing in the Neighbourhood of Altrincham in Cheſhire, ſaves the Carriage of Coals and other heavy Goods Thirteen Miles by Land through very bad Roads. By the Act, all Manure for Lands, and all

Materials

THIS unexpected Extenſion of the Canal, which, from a Thing of private Convenience, was now become a Work of ſo much publick Utility both to Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, very naturally excited a Spirit of Emulation in the Inhabitants of the adjacent Counties; the trading and manufacturing Part of which eſpecially ſaw the Importance of this new Water-Carriage, they felt their own Wants, and, after mature Conſideration, conceived they might in the ſame Way be relieved. This, upon due Deliberation, produced an Application to Parliament for the Powers they judged neceſſary for cutting a navigable Canal from Wildon Bridge in Derbyſhire, to run Weſtward into Staffordſhire, and then proceeding North to join the Duke's Canal at Preſton Bridge, and to terminate therewith by falling into the Merſey at Runcorn Gap in Cheſhire[u]. An Act accordingly paſſed for this Purpoſe Anno Domini 1766; and the very ſame Year, ſo prevalent was the Deſire of promoting theſe Inland Navigations, that an Act likewiſe paſſed for the making another Canal from between Bewdley and Tillon Brook in Worceſterſhire to Haywood Mill in Staffordſhire. By theſe Canals a Conjunction will be effected between the Severn and the Trent, and of both with the Merſey, ſo that conſequently a Communication will be opened between the Ports of Briſtol, Liverpool, and Hull[w].

A Scheme

Materials for mending publick Roads, are exempted from Tonage. Theſe Circumſtances ſhew ſome of the Advantages accruing to the Publick from this new Navigation.

[u] One cannot expect clearer Evidence, in Confirmation of what hath been advanced, as to the Facility of introducing any national Improvements into this Country at preſent, than the concerting and undertaking this (commonly ſtiled Earl Gower's) Canal. It concerns immediately the Three Counties of Derby, Stafford, and Cheſter, opens a Communication with Lancaſhire, and may, though remotely, influence the Trade of other Counties. It was ſeveral Years in Contemplation, and, after repeated Surveys, Two of the ableſt Judges declared, that no Tract of Land in this Kingdom was fitter for Inland Navigation; that it could not be any-where ſo beneficial, or ſo convenient for eſtabliſhing a Communication between the Eaſt and Weſt Seas. It was effectually to anſwer all and each of theſe important Ends, that it was reſolved to begin in the open Navigation of the Trent, and to terminate in like Manner in the Tide-way of the Merſey. By this means the Canal is protracted more than One hundred Miles, and carried through a Diverſity of Soils with incredible Labour. It is ſaid Mr. Brindley undertakes to purchaſe the Lands, conſtruct Locks, make Towing Paths, and erect Bridges, at Seven hundred Pounds a Mile, to Hare Caſtle, where the piercing a Mile through a Hill will demand Ten thouſand Pounds, and a Thouſand Pounds a Mile will be required for the reſt of the Canal. Taking therefore into our View the important Purpoſes to be obtained, the great Extent of the Work, and the immenſe Expence which muſt attend the Execution of it, one may reaſonably hope what hath been ſaid above will be fully juſtified.

[w] It is ſaid in the Text, that the Spirit of Emulation which produced what is called Earl Gower's Canal was natural, as having been long the Subject of Speculation, and which the Duke's Undertaking fully proved might be, if properly ſupported, leiſurely carried into Execution. But the Reſolution of joining to this only intended Canal, another of Half the Extent, from the Severn, was ſingular and extraordinary; a true Feature of that Magnanimity and Spirit of Enterprize which are eſſential to the Engliſh Nation, and to which ſo many great Things in the Courſe of this Work have been juſtly aſcribed. They ſaw diſtinctly the Motives on which this extenſive and expenſive Deſign was undertaken, they judged from the Alacrity of the Subſcribers it would be

vigorouſly

A Scheme that would have been thought, and perhaps would have been found impracticable in the preceding Century, and which, all its Circumſtances conſidered, muſt appear aſtoniſhing to our Poſterity. Theſe prodigious Works, now in a Train of Execution, ſhew that we ought not to deſpair of Things of great national Utility, though they may long dwell in the Minds, or only float upon the Tongues of Men. It proves that a ſingle vigorous Attempt will do much more than the moſt ſerious or even the moſt concluſive Arguments. For Facts ſpeak to the Senſes and to the Feelings of Mankind, as well as to their Reaſon. As ſoon therefore as it appeared, that an eaſy and commodious Paſſage could be opened between Mancheſter and Liverpool, all Diffidence and all Difficulties vaniſhed. Surveys were immediately directed; and, as ſoon as they were perfected, Subſcriptions chearfully followed, the Nobility and Gentry expreſſing the warmeſt Zeal in riſquing their private Property for the publick Service. But then this Zeal was according to Knowledge; they were clearly convinced of the Utility of the Undertaking; and they ſaw, without ſuffering any Uneaſineſs, that Time, Labour, and Expence, muſt purchaſe them thoſe Benefits this new Navigation was to beſtow; and therefore what in Days of leſs Induſtry, leſs Commercial Spirit, and, let us add, leſs Opulence, would have been held inſuperable Obſtacles, did not at all deter them from purſuing ſo great and ſo glorious a Deſign.

WHAT the actual Advantages, that will be derived from theſe Canals when finiſhed, may be, Time and Experience only can determine; but upon what reaſonable Expectations they have been ſo ſteadily as well as ſtrenuouſly ſupported, is incumbent upon me to report, in order to juſtify the Pains taken about them in this Work[x]. It is a vaſt Tract of Country through

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vigorouſly carried on; and they clearly comprehended all the Conſequences that would attend its being completed. They therefore very prudently contrived to loſe no Time in beginning a Canal of Communication, by which they might participate in all theſe Advantages, and at the ſame Time, to this free Intercourſe between Liverpool, Mancheſter, and Hull, add an open Navigation through Staffordſhire and Worceſterſhire, by the Severn, to the opulent Port of Briſtol.

[x] In reſpect to Inland Navigations, they are intirely artificial, whereas Rivers made navigable are only ſo in part. For this Reaſon the former are more expenſive, amounting ſometimes to upwards of a Thouſand Pounds a Mile, and therefore great Circumſpection is requiſite in the Choice of the Grounds through which they are to paſs. It is alledged in their Favour, that they are carried on more directly, by which becomes the Paſſage ſhorter; that they are free from Currents, exempt from Floods, are not impeded by Shallows, which renders the Navigation more regular and certain; that fewer Locks are requiſite; and that the Ground for them may be more properly choſen, by which Delay is avoided, and that Horſes draw Boats on them with Expedition, and with Eaſe. In reſpect to what is called Earl Gower's Canal, it is propoſed, that it ſhall be Twelve Feet wide at Bottom, in moſt Places Three Feet, at the Fords no more than Thirty Inches deep. The Boats to be Seventy Feet in Length, Six in Breadth, and to draw near Thirty Inches Water. Theſe Veſſels will carry about Twenty Tons; and are ſo conſtructed, as, by ſhifting the Rudder, to ſail with

through which they are to paſs, and not barely one or two, but ſeveral Counties that are to ſhare the Benefit of them, with this remarkable Circumſtance in their Favour, that in no Part of this noble Iſland could ſuch a Communication be of more Uſe, the Number conſidered of large, and many of them manufacturing Towns, in its Vicinity[y]. All Kinds of Proviſions, but more eſpecially Grain, will by their means be rendered cheaper, and kept to a more equal Price. For by furniſhing Manure from great Diſtances at a low Rate, and giving a quick Carriage even to remote Markets, the Canal will excite an active Spirit of Cultivation; and the Certainty of obtaining a ſpeedy Supply at a ſmall Expence will render an unreaſonable Riſe of Corn, where it has been in Times paſt frequently and fatally experienced, for the future in a great meaſure impracticable. Many bulky, but at the ſame time very uſeful Commodities, ſuch as Flint, Free, Lime, Mill, Grinding, and Paving Stones, Marl, Slate, Coals of different Kinds, Marble, Alabaſter, Iron Ore, will find a much eaſier and cheaper Paſſage, and of courſe reach many more and thoſe too better Markets, than they can be carried to, circumſtanced as they are at preſent.

FREQUENT Additions will probably be made to theſe natural Riches from the Diſcoveries that muſt ariſe from the cutting through a Variety of Soils in the Progreſs of this great Work, ſome Inſtances of which have occurred already. Beſides, the Staples of theſe ſeveral Counties may be carried farther, in greater Quantities, and be notwithſtanding afforded at lower Rates, ſuch as Timber from different Parts of Lancaſhire, the Salt and Cheeſe

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either End foremoſt. As to Equipage, a Man, a Boy, and a Horſe, are to belong to each Boat; and as the Canal will be ſupplied only with Water ſufficient for the Navigation, held up by Locks, and without Stream, the Horſe will without Difficulty draw a Boat, and occaſionally Two or Three of them. From this Account, the real Advantages which will attend this new Mode of Conveyance, more eſpecially for heavy, cumbrous, and yet cheap Commodities, is ſufficiently apparent.

[y] The Account of theſe Canals in the Text will not convey a proper Idea of their Utility, without taking in the Feaſibility and Facility of their Extenſion, upon which it in a great meaſure depends. In order to comprehend this clearly, we muſt recollect the grand Canal of China, the nobleſt Model of Inland Navigation in the World. The primary Object of that is, connecting Canton with the Capital; but what renders it of univerſal Benefit are, the Cuts made into it from every City and great Town. Our Canals, as deſcribed in the Text, ſhew that their primary Object of opening an Inland navigable Communication between Briſtol, Liverpool, and Hull, ſo long wiſhed and ſo little expected but Forty Years ago, will, when they ſhall be completed, be abſolutely attained. A Thing no doubt of very ſignal and national Importance, which will, notwithſtanding, be in its Value very much enhanced by the Canals joining theſe from numerous trading and manufacturing Towns, ſome of which are mentioned above, all of them ſtanding in need of ſuch a Conveyance to one or more of theſe Ports, and which muſt receive infinite Benefit by ſo cheap, ſo eaſy, ſo commodious, ſo certain, and ſo regular a Correſpondence with each other. With great Reaſon, therefore, have the Gentlemen of Staffordſhire called their Canal THE TRUNK, in Alluſion to the numerous Branches that are expected to ſpring from it. But, beſides theſe, may we not, without pretending to ſee far into Futurity, conjecture that this Spirit of improving by Inland Canals will ſpread into ſeveral other Parts of this Iſland?

of Cheſhire, Earthen-ware from Staffordſhire, numerous Articles from Birmingham, and all the various Manufactures from Mancheſter and other Places, will be relieved from a Variety of Impediments under which they have hitherto laboured. Raw Materials of every Sort will be conveyed with much more Eaſe and Expedition to the ſeveral Towns where they are wrought up, and, when manufactured, will with like Facility be carried to the Ports from which they are uſually ſhipped, either Coaſt-ways to different Parts of this, or into other Countries. Thus Agriculture, Manufactures, domeſtic Trade, foreign Commerce, and every Species of Induſtry ſubſervient to all theſe, will be evidently and in a high Degree promoted by this Inland Navigation, to ſay nothing of the Numbers who will live and be comfortably ſubſiſted by it. It muſt however be acknowleged, that ſome Objections have been made againſt, and ſome Suſpicions ſuggeſted, as to Inconveniencies with which it may be attended [z]. It is but Juſtice to obſerve, that theſe are in their Nature far more incertain, and at the ſame time of much leſs Conſequence, than the Benefits that have been before ſtated, nor would it be at all impoſſible to find Remedies for them even if they ſhould happen.

In the Proſecution of thoſe numerous Improvements that have been made in the Two laſt Centuries, new Inſtruments and a vaſt Variety of Machines became neceſſary, and many ſuch have been invented which have been here and elſewhere employed with ſo much Succeſs, as to raiſe the Character of our Artiſts to the greateſt Height over all Europe. Our Implements in Agriculture are not more ingenious in their Conſtruction, than ſtrong, neat, and accurate in their Execution, ſo as to be admired and imitated by Foreigners, where-ever that Science, of ſuch general Utility, is encouraged and eſteemed[a]. What is now ſtiled the new Huſbandry, and which has exerciſed the Thoughts and Pens of the ableſt Authors abroad, was the Invention of a practical Farmer here. In regard to Carriages alſo, we at leaſt equal other Nations in the Beauty, Lightneſs, and Convenience of ſome, in the Strength, Utility, and ſkilful Contrivance of others, ſuited for all the Purpoſes in which they can be uſed either for Pleaſure or Profit. In regard to thoſe Machines which act by circular Motion, it is thought the Dutch excel in ſome Kind of Wind Mills; but in reference to thoſe moved by Water, for preparing Metals which are to be uſed in different Manufactures, as well as in ſuch as are uſed in thoſe Manufactures of different Sorts, we ſucceed better than moſt of our Neighbours by their own Confeſſion[b]. In the ſeveral curious and arduous Contrivances requiſite in the Management of Mines, we have little Reaſon to envy them, though theſe are allowed to be Things in their own Nature of the utmoſt Difficulty, and where there is the greateſt Neceſſity for abridging Labour, which in moſt other Caſes is unpopular with us[c]. The Dexterity ſhewn in adapting Machines to a Variety of Intentions, which have been introduced in many new Undertakings, that might otherwiſe have proved impracticable, does great Honour as well to this Country, as to the preſent Age.

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[z] A ſhort View of the moſt conſiderable of theſe Objections, and the Anſwers given to them, ſeem requiſite to the ſetting this important Object in a proper Point of Light. It is ſaid, that cutting theſe Canals, and thereby dividing cultivated Lands, as well as in other reſpects, is an injury to private Property. To this it might be anſwered, that under all Governments private Intereſt muſt give Way to publick Utility. But more ſatisfactory Anſwers in this Caſe may be given. Private Intereſt is here conſulted in the very Meaſure purſued for promoting publick Utility. A Senſe of this produced the Petitions on which it is founded, and the Subſcriptions by which it muſt be promoted. Men are not apt to miſtake their own Intereſts, and never concur deliberately in hurting them. Beſides, Compenſations are provided, and every Limitation on the Powers inſerted in the Acts, that could be deviſed, to prevent Grievances in this Particular. It is alleged, that by this very Cutting much Land is waſted and deſtroyed. Let us ſee how far this is founded. A Mile of Canal takes up an Acre and an Half; a Canal of an Hundred Miles, One hundred and Fifty Acres, which is leſs than a Quarter of a Mile ſquare. It is believed it will very much diminiſh Land Carriage. To thoſe who think the Nation ſuffers by our keeping too many Horſes, this will appear an Advantage; thoſe who think otherwiſe, may doubt as to the Fact. They will own, that, in the Firſt Inſtance, Land Carriage between Places ſeated on Canals will be diminiſhed; but as the Trade of theſe Places will be increaſed, the Land Carriage from thoſe to Places not ſeated on Canals muſt increaſe with it; in what Proportion, Time only can determine. It is ſuggeſted, it may interfere with River Navigation. But this can happen but ſeldom, and only by being cheaper, which is an Advantage to the Publick. It is not however impoſſible that Means may be found to improve ſome of theſe River Navigations, ſo as to prevent this Inconvenience. Laſtly, it is apprehended theſe Inland Navigations may hurt the Coaſt Trade. The Event may prove the very reverſe, becauſe by them greater Quantities of Commodities will be conveyed to the Sea-Ports, and of courſe they muſt be ſent to foreign Countries, which will increaſe our Commerce, or Coaſt-wiſe to different Parts of our own.

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[a] As there are a great Variety of Soils in this Country, ſo very different Ploughs have been invented, ſuited to this Difference in Soils, which hath been of general Utility in Huſbandry, and is one great Reaſon why, in proportion to its Extent, we have in this Kingdom more cultivated Land than in any other Part of Europe. On this Account, ſeveral of them derive their Names from the Places where they are moſt in Uſe, ſuch as the Colcheſter, Lincolnſhire, and Suſſex Ploughs, as alſo the Caxton or Trenching Plough drawn by Twenty Horſes. But the moſt common are the Dray, Single and Double-wheeled Ploughs, and the Four-Coultered Plough, accurately deſcribed and highly commended by the celebrated Tull. The ſame may be ſaid of our Harrows, Hoes, Spades for ſeveral Uſes, &c. Yet are we ſtill much ſhort of abſolute Perfection, ſince the worthy Author of the Eſſays on Huſbandry gives Deſcriptions and Figures of ſeveral Inſtruments which might be introduced from other Countries, and ſome old ones, which, having been inadvertently diſuſed, deſerve therefore to be revived. The ingenious Mr. Young, in his excellent Farmers Letters, delivers his Thoughts on the ſame Subject with equal Intelligence and publick Spirit.

[b] As Metals are amongſt the Staple Commodities of this Country, no Skill or Pains have been ſpared in contriving and improving Machines for reducing them into Forms fit for Sale and Uſe. Of theſe we may reckon the Stamping Mill for Tin Ore, the Forging Mills for making large Iron Bars, the Slitting Mills for dividing theſe; Braſs Battery Works; Plate and Flatting Mills for the finer Metals; Gold and Silver and other Wire Mills, and many more. Yet theſe great, theſe ingenious, theſe expenſive Pieces of Mechaniſm, are only preparatory to Manufactures of different Kinds, in every one of which very many and very curious Machines are employed with ſuch Effect, that not only the fineſt and moſt uſeful Things are made, but are alſo made in ſo ſhort a Space, with ſuch Facility, and in ſuch Quantities, as render them at the Firſt Hand exceedingly cheap, which gives and ſecures Subſiſtence to Multitudes of induſtrious and laborious Workmen.

In nothing hath this been more conſpicuous, than in the laſt-mentioned of our Improvements, that is, the navigable Canals, which have been chiefly conducted by one original Genius, ſo fertile in Reſources, that hitherto no Obſtacles, however formidable, have put a Stop to his Deſigns. He was prepared for his Operations above, by his Knowledge in conducting thoſe under Ground, in the Coal Mines at Worſley, ſo that the Difficulties which occurred in the Progreſs of the Canal, though they appeared new, or rather were ſo in the Sight of others, were not beheld in the ſame Light by him; for his Acquaintance with the Mechanic Powers, and what Experience had taught him of their Effects, produced a Confidence which was held for Temerity till the Event ſhewed it was well founded[d]. But his Works being publickly carried on, their Principles were quickly underſtood, his Reſources became known, and he readily contributing both his

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[c] The Profit of Mines depends in a great meaſure on the Expence of working them. in proportion to the Value of the Metal. If no Engines were in Uſe, more Men muſt be employed; but then, from the great Charge attending this, a few, and thoſe only the richeſt, could be wrought. But, as Things now ſtand, Engines diminiſhing much of the Labour, many more Mines are worked, and of courſe more People ſubſiſt by them. For the raiſing Ores out of the Pits, Winlaſſes, Cranes, and Horſe Engines are employed. For raiſing and carrying off Water, they have in the Tin Mines in Cornwall (ſee Borlaſe's Natural Hiſtory, p. 169—175) abundance of Contrivances, the Whim, the Ragg and Chain, the Water Wheel and Bobbs; but the beſt, moſt effectual, and therefore uſed in Mines of every Kind, is the Steam or Fire Engine. This, by continual Improvements, is now brought to ſuch Perfection, that, though a very complicated Machine, it in a great meaſure regulates itſelf. It would be tedious, if not endleſs, to mention the ſeveral Inventions to anſwer different Purpoſes, and to remedy particular Inconveniences which are to be met with in almoſt every conſiderable Mine in theſe Kingdoms.

[d] In the Coal Mines which extend very far under the Hills at Worſley, he had practiſed many of theſe Methods afterwards transferred to the Canal. For after bringing the Coals from the Places where they were hewn in little Waggons, carrying a Ton each, eaſily puſhed by a Man down an inclined Plain to a flat Stage, he cauſes them to be ſhot from thence into Boats, on a ſubterranean Canal of Water raiſed out of the Mine, with a Rail on each Hand, by the Help of which a Man draws Five, Six, or more of them, each of the Burthen of Seven Tons, more than a Mile to the Mouth of the Mine, and, being there received into a capacious Stone Reſervoir, from thence is conveyed, carrying the Boats with it, into the open Canal that goes to Mancheſter. The vaulted Roof of this ſubterraneous Canal is ſupported in ſome Places by a Brick Arch, but is in moſt ſuſtained by the natural Rock through which it is cut. In the ſeveral Operations requiſite to the cutting and extracting the Coals, this great Diſciple of Nature hath ſhewn his Sagacity in a Multitude of new invented or much improved Machines, ſuch as portable Cranes for removing of Stones, an Overſhot Mill which gives Motion to a Wheel Eight Yards in Circumference, which, beſides driving Three Pair of Stones for grinding Corn, and a Boulting Mill of curious Conſtruction, ſerves alſo for making Mortar. Add to all this, his having taught a new Method of making a Fire Engine, by which Two Thirds of the Expence is diminiſhed (uſually Five hundred Pounds) by making Cylinders of Deal inſtead of Caſt Metal, and Chains of Wood, which are found to anſwer better than thoſe of Iron.

Advice and his Aſſiſtance, we ſee them extended under his Direction with equal Spirit and Succeſs. There is little Doubt to be made, that whenever theſe great Works ſhall be completed, and their Conſequences evidently diſplayed, they will be imitated in many Places. As little Reaſon is there to queſtion, that though this, like moſt new Undertakings, appeared ſingular and ſurpriſing, yet, when thoroughly inveſtigated, it may be diſcovered, that theſe Water Conveyances[e], or at leaſt ſome of the new Machines employed about them, are capable of being applied to other advantageous Ends, eſpecially in ſo inquiſitive and enterpriſing an Age as this, when every Attempt to promote publick Utility is not only ſure of meeting with favourable Notice, but likewiſe, in proportion as it appears to be practicable, of Encouragement and Support.

With all theſe pregnant Advantages, there cannot ſurely be the leaſt Doubt made, that we have from the Commencement of the preſent Century rendered this noble Country much better than it was, and brought large Quantities of Land, which is the beſt Proof of national Improvement, into Cultivation. At that Period, if we may credit the beſt Judges, it was computed that One Quarter of it was almoſt abſolutely waſte, and near Half as much more but in a little better Condition[f]. If this Kingdom was then in that State, the other two were certainly in a much worſe, though all of them, even then, in a State of Improvement, in compariſon to what they had been in the Courſe of the preceding Century, during which however conſiderable Efforts had been made. Of the Truth of all this, there wanted not ſufficient Evidence to convince any candid and conſiderate Inquirer. From the ſame Kind of Evidence, that is, from the Income and

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[e] It is not improbable, that by the Help of ſuch Canals running on the Sides of Hills, and thereby intercepting the Waters of Springs which diſcharge on the lower Grounds, conſiderable Tracts of marſhy Lands might be converted into fine Meadows. By diverting ſuch Springs, and taking ſome inconſiderable Streams into ſuch Canals, poſſibly a Remedy might be found for that Deficiency of Water, which is the chief Cauſe of the Difficulties occurring in Rivers rendered navigable by Art, or at leaſt the Number of Locks in them might by this means be diminiſhed. The Junction of navigable Rivers by the Intervention of ſuch Canals hath been long eſteemed practicable, and one may with a Degree of Probability conjecture, that in no great Space of Time ſomething of this Kind will be undertaken, for the Expediency of which many Reaſons might be offered.

[f] In the Computations by Mr. King, referred to in the Text, the Number of Acres in England is fixed at Thirty-nine Millions, and no more than Twenty-one Millions allowed for both Arable and Paſture Lands. Half a Million is aſſigned for High Roads, Foot-paths, and uſeleſs Waſtes; Ten Millions for Heaths, Moors, and barren Lands, valued at Twelve Pence an Acre; and Three Millions more for Foreſts, Parks, and Commons. This Gentleman had great Opportunities of making and of correcting his Calculations, by having recourſe to the publick Accounts of Hearth Money and other Taxes, which now no longer ſubſiſt. Dr. Davenant, and other political Writers, reaſon upon his Computations, and declare them, as far as they could diſcern, to be very conſiſtent and exact; but this muſt be underſtood with a Degree of Latitude, as preciſe Exactneſs is not to be hoped for in ſuch Computations.

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ENGLISH
HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

1714–1783

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*** From D. B. Horne and Mary Ransome, eds., ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 1714-1783, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957) 468-470.**

This document from the collection is a letter from Mrs. Abiah Darby describing the Darby iron works, in which Mrs. Darby explains how iron is made by using coke rather than charcoal.

New York
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1957

Pages 263-273.

These pages from Heaton's ECONOMIC HISTORY explain the enclosure movement in England and the technological innovations made in Britain in the eighteenth century.

ECONOMIC HISTORY
of
EUROPE

By Herbert Heaton
PROFESSOR OF ECONOMIC HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

REVISED EDITION

HARPER & BROTHERS
Publishers · New York

1948

A JOURNEY THROUGH ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND TO THE HEBRIDES IN 1784

BY

B. FAUJAS DE SAINT FOND

A REVISED EDITION OF THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION
EDITED, WITH NOTES
AND A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR
BY

SIR ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, D.C.L., SEC.R.S.
CORRESPONDENT OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE

VOLUME ONE

GLASGOW: HUGH HOPKINS
1907

The coal-mines in the neighbourhood of Newcastle are so numerous that they may be regarded as not only one of the immense magazines of England, but also as the source of a profitable foreign commerce.

Vessels loaded with coal, for London and different parts of Europe, sail daily from this port, and, so to say, every hour of the day. Besides this commerce, the navigation which results from working these mines, gives an incalculable advantage to the navy, by forming a great nursery of seamen. In time of war, more than a thousand coal vessels can be armed, and do considerable injury to the enemy's commerce.

In this practical school of navigation are to be found men inured to every danger. The celebrated Cook began his naval career, as a sailor, on board of a Newcastle collier; and his capable and active genius soon raised him to be skipper. He afterwards purchased a ship on his own account; on occasions of danger he knew so well how, as it were, to master the elements, that though yet young, he acquired a great reputation among his brother seamen. His high qualities eventually obtained for him so completely the

confidence of the English government, that this wonderful navigator sailed three times round the world, enriching geography, natural history, and navigation, with the greatest discoveries. The modest house in which he was born, in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, is preserved with veneration.

The coal-mines, in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, are situated in so fortunate a position that the soil which covers them yields fine pasture that supports herds of horses. Under this fertile soil there is found a sandstone, of excellent quality for grind-stones. This second richness of the earth forms another extensive object of trade for the industry of the inhabitants of Newcastle: these stones have so great a reputation, that they are exported to all the ports in Europe.

The first mine I visited belongs to a private individual; it is situated about two miles from the town, and requires one hundred men to work it; thirty for the work above ground, and seventy in the pit: twenty horses live in this profound abyss, and drag the coal through the subterranean passages to the pit-bottom; four outside work the machine which raises the coal, and some more are employed in auxiliary labours.

The following is the order of the mineral substances, as they appear in descending to the coal:

	Feet.
Vegetable soil, of good quality	2
Beds of rounded pieces of limestone and sandstone	15
Grey clay, more or less pure . . .	16
Hard quartzose sandstone, with flakes of mica	25
Very hard black clay, somewhat bituminous, intermixed with some specks of mica . .	26
Black clay, more bituminous, and partly inflammable; when the laminae of this clay, which separate with facility, are examined with attention, some prints of ferns appear, but they are scarcely discernible . . .	18
Total	102

At this depth of one hundred and two feet the coal is found. The seam is five feet thick in some places, and varies in others; but in general it is easily wrought, and much of it is brought up in large blocks. This last circumstance is of considerable advantage, as such pieces are always easily transported, and are besides well suited for chamber-fires; which makes this kind of coal sell at a higher price.

When the bed of black and bituminous clay is penetrated, the coal is found adhering to it; but this is not always the case, for there are other mines in the neighbourhood where the roof is of sandstone, which in the points of contact is mixed with the coal to the thickness of two or three inches; the latter imbedded in the sandstone, in the form of splinters which, when attentively examined, have the appearance of wood.

This mine has a large steam-engine for pumping out the water, and at the same time working a ventilator to purify the air.

The winding machine which raises the coal from the pit is convenient, and easily worked by two stout horses. The buckets, in which the coal is brought up, are not of wood, but of osier, strongly made, and having an iron handle. They contain at least twelve hundred pounds of coal each; and as the one ascends while the other descends, one of these baskets arrives at the mouth of the pit every four minutes. It is received by a single man who while it is yet suspended, places it upon a truck drawn by one horse. He then unhooks the basket, puts an empty one in its place, and pushes the truck to a place somewhat raised at a short distance, where he empties the basket on the latticed roof above a kind of shed; the dust passes through the open spaces and falls below, while the large pieces of coal rolling down the inclined plane, fall upon the ground in heaps on the outside of the shed. Waggons, which I am about to describe, then take it up, and carry it to wharfs on the river-side.

It might be expected that the land transport of such an immense amount of coal would require numberless horses and men, which would involve immense expense. But art has surmounted this difficulty in the following manner.

Roads which have an almost insensible inclination are formed with the greatest care, and prolonged to the place where the vessels are loaded. The length of these roads is often more than several miles.

This first operation being finished, two parallel lines are traced along the road, at the exact distance which separates the wheels of the waggons. Logs of hard wood are then laid along these two parallel lines, and firmly fixed in the earth with pins.

The upper surface of these logs is carefully cut into a kind of moulding, which is well rounded, and projects upwards. The thickness of this elevated ledge must correspond with the width of the groove in the waggon-wheels, which are made of cast-iron, and hollowed in the manner of a metal pulley.

These wheels are completely cast in one piece, in a mould from which the rim comes out hollowed. This large groove is several inches deep, and of a proportional width; so that the wheel exactly encases the projecting part of the log, from which it cannot slide in any direction. As the moulding is well greased and is also polished by continual friction, four-wheeled waggons, containing eight thousand weight of coal each, move along the inclined plane, by the laws of gravity, and proceed as it were by magic one after another, until they reach the Tyne. Arrived there, a strongly and artistically made wooden frame prolongs the road for several fathoms at such a height above the water as to permit vessels to pass below it on lowering their masts. A man stationed on the platform opens a hatch, whence a large wooden hopper descends towards the vessel, the hatches of which are open. When the waggon comes to the trap in the platform it stops, its conical bottom opens, and all the coal runs in a moment through the hopper into the vessel. The waggon being emptied, returns by a second road parallel to the first. Other waggons follow the same course after having been in this manner relieved of their contents; and in a short time the vessel is loaded. A few horses suffice to bring back the empty waggons to the pit, and they soon return with a new freight of coal. This contrivance, as expeditious as it is economical, soon repays the cost of constructing such roads.

I have here given but a rapid sketch of these extraordinary roads, which are varied in several ways. It would require me to enter into details which might prove too long, and ill-suited to the nature of this work, were I to describe all the ingenious means which art and industry have employed in working wonders of this kind. Where local circumstances have permitted, the weight of the load, and the accelerated movement have been combined in such a manner, that files of loaded waggons run down the inclined plane and at the same time cause the empty waggons to reascend without the assistance of horses, along another road parallel to the first.

The great economy produced by these ingenious contrivances, which save the employment of men and horses, enables the English to sell the coal which they export in such abundance to all our ports on the ocean and the Mediterranean, at a price lower than that of our own mines, in all cases where we have to bring it only three or four leagues by land. Marseilles affords an example in point. This town, which consumes immense quantities of fuel in its great soap manufactories, is within four or five leagues of abundant coal-mines. This coal is indeed of an inferior quality, but it is nevertheless used with advantage in the furnaces of soap-works. Would any one believe that the coal of England, which is excellent, lasts double the time, and gives double the heat, when sold duty free in the port of Marseilles, is cheaper than the former. Such instances as this ought doubtless to give us very important lessons.

The industry of the inhabitants of Newcastle is so active, that accustomed to apply it to every thing, they have even turned to profit the pyrites, which injures the quality of the coal, but which is found in great

DANIEL DEFOE

A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain

MY 15 '63

Introductions by
G. D. H. COLE
and
D. C. BROWNING

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME TWO

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2. Suppose you take the other northern road, namely, by St. Albans, Dunstable, Hockley, Newport Pagnel, Northampton, Leicester, and Nottingham, or Darby: On this road, after you are pass'd Dunstable, which, as in the other way, is about 30 miles, you enter the deep clays, which are so surprisingly soft, that it is perfectly frightful to travellers, and it has been the wonder of foreigners, how, considering the great numbers of carriages which are continually passing with heavy loads, those ways have been made practicable; indeed the great number of horses every year kill'd by the excess of labour in those heavy ways, has been such a charge to the country, that new building of causeways, as the Romans did of old, seems to me to be a much easier expence: From Hockley to Northampton, thence to Harborough, and Leicester, and thence to the very bank of Trent these terrible clays continue; at Nottingham you are pass'd them, and the forest of Sherwood yields a hard and pleasant road for 30 miles together.

3. Take the same road as it leads to Coventry, and from thence to West Chester, the deep clays reach through all the towns of Brickhill, Fenny and Stony Stratford, Towcester, Daventry, Hill Morton, or Dunchurch, Coventry, Coleshill, and even to Birmingham, for very near 80 miles.

4. If we take the road to Worcester, it is the same through the vale of Aylesbury to Buckingham, and westward to Banbury, Keynton, and the vale of Evesham, where the clays reach, with some intermissions, even to the bank of Severn, as they do more northernly quite to West Chester.

The reason of my taking notice of this badness of the roads, through all the midland counties, is this; that as these are counties which drive a very great trade with the city of London, and with one another, perhaps the greatest of any counties in England; and that, by consequence, the carriage is exceeding great, and also that all the land carriage of the northern counties necessarily goes through these counties, so the roads had been plow'd so deep, and materials have been in some places so difficult to be had for repair of the roads, that all the surveyors rates have been able to do nothing; nay, the very whole country has not been able to repair them; that is to say, it was a burthen too great for the poor farmers; for in England it is the tenant, not the landlord, that pays the surveyors of the highways.

This necessarily brought the country to bring these things before the Parliament; and the consequence has been, that turnpikes or toll-bars have been set up on the several great roads of England, beginning at London, and proceeding thro' almost all those dirty deep roads, in the midland counties especially; at which turn-pikes all carriages, droves of cattle, and travellers on horseback, are oblig'd to pay an easy toll; that is to say, a horse a penny, a coach three pence, a cart four pence, at some six pence to eight pence, a waggon six pence, in some a shilling, and the like; cattle pay by the score, or by the head, in some places more, in some less; but in no place is it thought a burthen that ever I met with, the benefit of a good road abundantly making amends for that little charge the travellers are put to at the turn-pikes.

Several of these turn-pikes and tolls had been set up of late years, and great progress had been made in mending the most difficult ways, and that with such success as well deserves a place in this account: And this is one reason for taking notice of it in this manner; for as the memory of the Romans, which is so justly famous, is preserv'd in nothing more visible to common observation, than in the remains of those noble causways and highways, which they made through all parts of the kingdom, and which were found so needful, even then, when there was not the five hundredth part of the commerce and carriage that is now: How much more valuable must these new works be, tho' nothing to compare with those of the Romans, for the firmness and duration of their work?

The causways and roads, or streetways of the Romans, were perfect solid buildings, the foundations were laid so deep, and the materials so good, however far they were oblig'd to fetch them, that if they had been vaulted and arch'd, they could not have been more solid: I have seen the bottom of them dug up in several places, where I have observ'd flint-stones, chalk-stones, hard gravel, solid hard clay, and several other sorts of earth, laid in layers, like the veins of oar in a mine; a laying of clay of a solid binding quality, then flint-stones, then chalk, then upon the chalk rough ballast or gravel, 'till the whole work has been rais'd six or eight foot from the bottom; then it has been cover'd with a crown or rising ridge in the middle, gently sloping to the sides, that the rain might run off every way, and not soak into the work: This I have seen as fair and firm, after having stood, as we may conclude, at least 12 or 1600 years, as if it had been made but the year before.

And that I may not be charg'd with going beyond the most and 'tis to give a clear view of this important case, that we have given this account of them.

The benefit of these turnpikes appears now to be so great, and the people in all places begin to be so sensible of it, that it is incredible what effect it has already had upon trade in the countries where it is more compleatly finish'd; even the carriage of goods is abated in some places, *6d.* per hundred weight, in some places *12d.* per hundred, which is abundantly more advantage to commerce, than the charge paid amounts to, and yet at the same time the expence is paid by the carriers too, who make the abatement; so that the benefit in abating the rate of carriage is wholly and simply the tradesmens, not the carriers.

Yet the advantage is evident to the carriers also another way; for, as was observ'd before, they can bring more weight with the same number of horses, nor are their horses so hard work'd and fatigued with their labour as they were before; in which one particular 'tis acknowledg'd by the carriers, they perform their work with more ease, and the masters are at less expence.

The advantage to all other kinds of travelling I omit here; such as the safety and ease to gentlemen travelling up to London on all occasions, whether to the term, or to Parliament, to Court, or on any other necessary occasion, which is not a small part of the benefit of these new methods.

Also the riding post, as well for the ordinary carrying of the mails, or for the gentlemen riding post, when their occasions require speed; I say, the riding post is made extreamly easy, safe, and pleasant, by this alteration of the roads.

I mention so often the safety of travelling on this occasion, because, as I observ'd before, the commissioners for these repairs of the highways have order'd, and do daily order, abundance of bridges to be repair'd and enlarg'd, and new ones built, where they find occasion, which not only serve to carry the water off, where it otherwise often spreads, and lies as it were, damm'd up upon the road, and spoils the way; but where it rises sometimes by sudden rains to a dangerous height; for it is to be observ'd, that there is more hazard, and more lives lost, in passing, or attempting to pass little brooks and streams, which are swell'd by sudden showers of rain, and where passengers expect no stoppage, than in passing great rivers, where the danger is known, and therefore more carefully avoided.

In many of these places the commissioners have built large and substantial bridges for the benefit of travelling, as is said already, and in other places have built sluices to stop, and open'd channels to carry off the water, where they used to swell into the highway: We have two of these sluices near London, in the road thro' Tottenham High-Cross and Edmonton, by which the waters in those places, which have sometimes been dangerous, are now carry'd off, and the road clear'd; and as for bridges I have been told, that the several commissioners, in the respective districts where they are concern'd, have already built above three hundred new ones, where there were none before, or where the former were small and insufficient to carry the traveller safe over the waters; many of these are within a few miles of London, especially, for example, on the great road from London to Edgeworth, from London to Enfield, from London to St. Albans, and, as before, from London to Croydon, where they are very plain to be seen, and to which I refer.

And for farther confirmation of what I have advanc'd above, namely, that we may expect, according to this good beginning, that the roads in most parts of England will in a few years be fully repair'd, and restor'd to the same good condition, (or perhaps a better, than) they were in during the Roman government, we may take notice, that there are no less than twelve Bills, or Petitions for Bills, depending before the Parliament, at this time sitting, for the repair of the roads, in several remote parts of England, or for the lengthening the time allow'd in former Acts; some of which, besides those hereafter mentioned, give us hopes, that the grants, when obtain'd, will be very well manag'd, and the country people greatly encourag'd by them in their commerce; for there is no doubt to be made, but that the inland trade of England has been greatly obstructed by the exceeding badness of the roads.

A particular example of this, I have mention'd already, viz. the bringing of fat cattle, especially sheep to London in the winter, from the remoter counties of Leicester and Lincoln, where they are bred; by which the country grasiers are oblig'd to sell their stocks off, at the latter end of the summer, namely September and October, when they sell cheap, and the butchers and farmers near London engross them, and keeping them 'till December and January, sell them, tho' not an ounce fatter than before, for an advanc'd price, to the citizens of London; whereas were the roads made good and passable, the city would be serv'd with mutton almost as cheap in the winter as in the summer, or the profit of the advance would be to the graziers of Leicester and Lincolnshires, who were the original breeders.

THE

FARMER'S TOUR

THROUGH THE

EAST of ENGLAND.

BEING

The Regiſter of a Journey through various Counties
of this Kingdom, to enquire into the State
of AGRICULTURE, &c.

By Arthur Young

CONTAINING,

I. The particular Methods of cultivating the Soil.
II. The Conduct of live Stock, and the modern Syſtem of Breeding.
III. The State of Population, the Poor, Labour, Proviſions, &c.
IV. The Rental and Value of the Soil, and its Diviſion into Farms, with various Circumſtances attending their Size and State.
V. The Minutes of above five hundred original Experiments, communicated by ſeveral of the Nobility, Gentry, &c.

WITH

Other Subjects that tend to explain the preſent State of
ENGLISH HUSBANDRY.

By the Author of the FARMER'S LETTERS, and the
TOURS through the North and South of England.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
Printed for W. STRAHAN; W. NICOLL, No. 51, St.
Paul's Church-Yard; B. COLLINS, at Saliſbury;
and J. BALFOUR, at Edinburgh.
MDCCLXXI.

recommended by any of the cultivators of cabbages, *viz.* that it is more advantageous to ſow where the plants are to remain, than to tranſplant them from a bed. This might eaſily be tried, and probably would be found a very good way of cultivating them.

Horſes, cows, and ſheep were turned in, who fell at once on them, and eat the crop clean up; they all ſeemed to like them exceedingly. Some were left to the ſpring, to diſcover how long they would laſt. The beginning of *January* was a week's ſharp froſt without ſnow, which left the plants a mere rotten pulp. They did not come to a larger ſize than common turnips; but were much heavier than thoſe of an equal ſize.

This gentleman, on a ſtrong clay ſoil of 16*s.* an acre, gained the following crops:

Wheat, 3 ½ quarters.
Oats, 6 quarters.
Peaſe, 3 quarters.

Mowed from 2 to 3 loads of hay from his paſtures. But his management was very perfect, for he kept his fields under a conſtant manuring, from compoſt heaps, made in layers of dung and earth, and well mixed together.

He attributes his good ſucceſs with his graſs lands, in ſome meaſure to mowing off all the weeds and leavings of his cattle, when they were fed.

Thomas Bevor, Eſq; of *Ethel* in this neighbourhood, has for ſome years kept part of his eſtate in his own hands, and cultivated it in a very complete manner; purſuing ſeveral practices not common in this country, which he has found of particular utility.

The courſe which he adheres to in preference to all others, is,

1. Turnips
2. Barley
3. Clover
4. Wheat.

For his turnips he ploughs 4 to 6 times; they are worth on an average 3*l.* 3*s.* an acre; when he draws them he has generally 40 great cart loads an acre: feeds his horſes on them to great advantage: ½ an acre will winter a cow. His barley yields 5 ½ quarters an acre: he ploughs 5 times for it; ſows 3 buſhels an acre. The clover produces 3 loads of hay, at 40*s.* a load; and wheat, upon an average, 4 ½ quarters:

he ſows 2 buſhels; once tried 6 pecks, but it was the worſt crop he had. Theſe crops are all great, and could not be gained unleſs the management was excellent.

	£.	s.	d.
Turnips, - -	£.3	3	0
Barley, - -	5	10	0
Clover, - -	6	0	0
Wheat, - -	9	0	0
Total, - -	23	13	0
Or *per* acre *per ann.*	5	18	3

I do not think that common huſbandry admits any thing more profitable than this. We ought to attend particularly to the management that enſures ſuch noble crops: it conſiſts chiefly in a very ſpirited conduct reſpecting manures.

He is principally ſolicitous to raiſe large quantities of farm-yard dung, as the cheapeſt and readieſt method of improving a farm. For this purpoſe he ſtacks all his hay at home, ready to be conſumed in the yard—he chops his ſtubbles, 25 acres, and carts them in for litter—he clears the lanes, &c. of fern, ruſhes, &c. getting 7 or 8 waggon loads yearly; all which he applies to the ſame uſe as his ſtubble. And one point, in which he is quite peculiar, is the raking together all the leaves that fall in his park; he employs women in this buſineſs, they load the carts with large fans; the whole expence of raking, loading, carting, &c. is 6*d.* a load. He annually collects 200 loads; they are ſpread about the yard, and the cattle tread them into one general hard cake, which, receiving the dung and urine all winter, converts into as rich a manure as any in the world. By theſe exertions of excellent management he raiſes annually 1400 large loads of dung; made by

20 Cows	11 Horſes
14 Young cattle	40 Swine.

Theſe confined the winter through, alſo 20 horſes joiſted on hay, with liberty of running in and out to the park at pleaſure, in all 105 head of cattle—but ſwine reckoned, we ſhould not call them more than 85, which is 16 ½ loads *per* head. A great quantity, conſidering that 20 horſes run out at pleaſure. Mr. *Bevor* carts theſe 1400 loads from his yard on to heaps, preparing layers of pond mud, ditch earth, ant-hills, waſh ſand, &c. &c. the dung is thrown on them, and then more layers of earth, &c. In this work, he is attentive to keep the carts off the heaps; they ſhoot down their loads by the ſide, and men are ready to throw them up with ſpades. He follows this method to prevent the carts driving on to the heaps, which he thinks preſs them too much, and thereby prevent the fermentation which rots the compoſt. He has tried the dung alone; and has found from long experience, that this mixture will do more benefit upon a given quantity of land, than the dung alone; and be ſuperior to a much greater degree, than the amount of the expences. He mixes the 1400 loads of dung with 600 of earth, &c. &c.—uſing annually 2000 loads. The quantity of the compoſt, aſter being well mixed together, that he ſpreads on an acre, is 12 loads, every other year.—

Beſides this general ſyſtem, which is undoubtedly excellent, he attends to other ways of improving his land.

Experiment, No. 1.

Buck-wheat he has ſown on a ſtrong clay land as a preparation for wheat, aſter four ploughings: it was partly fed off by cattle, and what remained ploughed in the end of *July*, and aſter two ſtirrings more, wheat ſown: the crop was 5 quarters an acre.

Experiment, No. 2.

An ordinary paſture was broken up and dibbled with peaſe; the crop 5 quarters an acre; the old turf was ſo rotten that Mr. *Bevor* intended wheat; but being prevented, he ſowed it with buck-wheat, 1 buſhel an acre; aſter which he ſowed wheat, and had 6 quarters an acre. This was ſucceeded by turnips; and it was laid down with graſſes among the following barley.

Experiment, No. 3.

Soap aſhes he has uſed on graſs land, with ſuch ſucceſs, that land let at 5*s.* manured with 20 loads an acre, was improved by them to a guinea an acre rent.

Experiment, No. 4.

Ant-hills he tried once for manure, mixing them with dung. A large quantity was formed into a heap, which he turned over ſeveral times, till the whole was one uniform

LETTER XIV.

AS I ſhall preſently leave *Norfolk*, it will not be improper to give a ſlight review of the huſbandry which has rendered the name of this county ſo famous in the farming world. Pointing out the practices which have ſucceeded ſo nobly here, may perhaps be of ſome uſe to other countries poſſeſſed of the ſame advantages, but unknowing in the art to uſe them.

From 40 to 60 years ago, all the northern and weſtern, and a part of the eaſtern tracts of the county, were ſheep-walks, let ſo low as from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* an acre. Much of it was in this condition only 30 years ago. The great improvements have been made by means of the following circumſtances.

FIRST. By incloſing without aſſiſtance of parliament.

SECOND. By a ſpirited uſe of marle and clay.

THIRD. By the introduction of an excellent courſe of crops.

FOURTH. By the culture of turnips well hand-hoed.

FIFTH. By the culture of clover and ray-graſs.

SIXTH. By landlords granting long leaſes.

SEVENTH. By the country being divided chiefly into large farms.

In this recapitulation, I have inſerted no article that is included in another. Take any one from the ſeven, and the improvement of *Norfolk* would never have exiſted. The importance of them all will appear ſufficiently evident from a ſhort examination.

THE INCLOSURE

Provided open lands are incloſed, it is not of very great conſequence by what means it was effected; but the fact is, that parliamentary incloſures are ſcarcely ever ſo complete and general as in *Norfolk*; and how ſhould they, when numbers are to agree to the ſame meaſure? Had the incloſure of this county been by acts of parliament, much *might have been* done, but on no compariſon with what *is* done. The great difficulty and attention *then* would not been marled.—That foundation of their huſbandry is a preparative for all ſucceſſive manurings; they take the greater effect from following an abſorbent earth, and laſt (it is aſſerted) the longer: but that I ſhould doubt.

THE COURSE OF CROPS.

After the beſt managed incloſure, and the moſt ſpirited conduct in marling, ſtill the whole ſucceſs of the undertaking depends on this point: No fortune will be made in *Norfolk* by farming, unleſs a judicious courſe of crops be purſued. That which has been chiefly adopted by the *Norfolk* farmers is,

1. Turnips
2. Barley
3. Clover; or clover and ray-graſs
4. Wheat.

Some of them, depending on their ſoils being richer than their neighbours (for inſtance, all the way from *Holt* by *Aylſham* down through the *Flegg* hundreds) will ſteal a crop of peaſe or barley after the wheat; but it is bad huſbandry, and has not been followed by thoſe men who have made fortunes. In the above courſe, the

turnips

take up more of your time on a point which is ſelf-evident. Had the *Norfolk* landlords conducted themſelves on ſuch narrow principles, their eſtates, which are raiſed five, ſix, and tenfold, would yet have been ſheep-walks.

LARGE FARMS.

If the preceding articles are properly reviewed, it will at once be apparent that no ſmall farmers could effect ſuch great things as have been done in *Norfolk*. Incloſing, marling, and keeping a flock of ſheep large enough for folding, belong abſolutely and excluſively to great farmers. None of them could be effected by ſmall ones—or ſuch as are called middling ones in other countries. —Nor ſhould it be forgotten, that the beſt huſbandry in *Norfolk* is that of the largeſt farmers. You muſt go to a *Curtis*, a *Mallet*, a *Barton*, a *Glover*, a *Carr*, to ſee *Norfolk* huſbandry. You will not among them find the ſtolen crops that are too often met with among the little occupiers of an hundred a year, in the eaſtern part of the county. Great farms have been the ſoul of the *Norfolk* culture: ſplit them into tenures

of

of an hundred pounds a year, you will find nothing but beggars and weeds in the whole county. The rich man keeps his land rich and clean.

Theſe are the principles of *Norfolk* huſbandry, which have advanced the agriculture of the greateſt part of that county to a much greater height than is any where to be met with over an equal extent of country. I ſhall in the next place venture ſlightly to mention a few particulars in which the *Norfolk* farmers are deficient.

1. Peaſe are never hand-hoed.
2. Wheat, though weedy, the ſame.
3. Beans, the ſame every where, except in marſhland.
4. No regular chopping of ſtubbles for littering the farm-yards: it is very incompletely practiſed.
5. Meadows and natural paſtures managed in as ſlovenly a manner as in any part of the kingdom.
6. The breed of ſheep contemptible.
7. That of horſes very indifferent.
8. Vaſt tracts of land admirably fit for

carrots;

Horſe-Hoeing Husbandry:

OR,

An ESSAY on the PRINCIPLES

OF

Vegetation *and* Tillage.

Deſigned to introduce

A NEW METHOD of CULTURE;

WHEREBY

The Produce of Land will be increaſed, and the uſual Expence leſſened.

Together with

Accurate DESCRIPTIONS and CUTS of the Inſtruments employed in it.

By JETHRO TULL, *Eſq;*
Of Shalborne *in* Berkſhire.

The THIRD EDITION, very carefully Corrected.

To which is prefixed,
A New PREFACE by the EDITORS, addreſſed to all concerned in AGRICULTURE.

* * *

LONDON:
Printed for A. MILLAR, oppoſite to *Catharine-ſtreet* in the *Strand*.
M.DCC.LI.

fine Acre; tho' the ſame that is too little for the one, is too much for the other; 'tis all mere Chance-work, and they put their whole Truſt in good Ground, and much Dung, to cover their Errors.

The greateſt Quantity of Seed I ever heard of to be uſually ſown, is in *Wiltſhire*, where I am inform'd by the Owners themſelves, that on ſome ſorts of Land they ſow Eight Buſhels of Barley to an Acre; ſo that if it produce Four Quarters to an Acre, there are but Four Grains for One that is ſown, and is a very Poor Increaſe, tho' a good Crop; this is on Land plowed once, and then double-dung'd, the Seed only harrow'd into the ſtale and hard Ground (*a*), 'tis like not Two Buſhels of the Eight will enter it to grow; and I have heard, that in a dry Summer an Acre of this ſcarce produces Four Buſhels at Harveſt.

But, in Drilling, Seed lies all the ſame juſt Depth, none deeper, nor ſhallower, than the reſt; here's no Danger of the Accidents of burying, or being uncover'd, and therefore no Allowance muſt be made for them; but Allowance muſt be made for other Accidents, where the ſort of Seed is liable to them; ſuch as Grub, Fly, Worm, Froſt, *&c.*

Next, when a Man unexperienc'd in this Method has proved the Goodneſs of his Seed, and Depth to plant it at, he ought to calculate what Number of Seeds a Buſhel, or other Meaſure or Weight, contains: For one Buſhel, or one Pound of ſmall Seed, may contain double the Number of Seeds, of a Buſhel, or a Pound, of large Seed of the ſame Species.

This Calculation is made by weighing an Ounce, and counting the Number of Seeds therein; then weighing a Buſhel of it, and multiplying the Number of Seeds of the Ounce, by the Number of Ounces

of the Buſhel's Weight; the Product will ſhew the Number of Seeds of a Buſhel near enough: Then, by the Rule of Three, apportion them to the ſquare Feet of an Acre; or elſe it may be done, by divideing the Seeds of the Buſhel by the ſquare Feet of an Acre; the Quotient will give the Number of Seeds for every Foot: Alſo conſider how near you intend to plant the Rows, and whether Single, Double, Treble, or Quadruple; for the more Rows, the more Seed will be required (*a*).

Examine what is the Produce of one middle-ſiz'd Plant of the Annual, but the Produce of the beſt and largeſt of the perennial Sort; becauſe that by Hoeing will be brought to its utmoſt Perfection: Proportion the Seed of both to the reaſonable Product; and, when 'tis worth while, adjuſt the Plants to their competent Number with the Hand-hoe, after they are up; and plant Perennials generally in ſingle Rows: Laſtly, Plant ſome Rows of the Annual thicker than others, which will ſoon give you Experience (better than any other Rule) to know the exact Quantity of Seed to drill.

III. The Diſtances of the Rows are one of the moſt material Points, wherein we ſhall find many apparent Objections againſt the Truth; of which tho' full Experience be the moſt infallible Proof, yet the World is by falſe Notions ſo prejudiced againſt wide Spaces between Rows, that unleſs theſe common (and I wiſh I could ſay, only vulgar) Objections be firſt anſwer'd, perhaps no-body will venture ſo far out of the old Road, as is neceſſary to gain the Experience; without it be ſuch as have ſeen it.

(*a*) Stale Ground is that which has lain ſome conſiderable time after Plowing, before it is ſown, contrary to that which is ſown immediately after plow'd; for this laſt is generally not ſo hard as the former.

(*a*) The narrow Spaces (ſuppoſe Seven Inches) betwixt Double, Treble, or Quadruple Rows, the Double having One, the Treble Two, and the Quadruple Three of them, are called *Partitions*.

The wide Space (ſuppoſe of near Five Feet) betwixt any Two of theſe Double, Treble, or Quadruple Rows, is call'd an *Interval*.

ſtand as thick all over the Land, as they do in the ho'd Rows, there might be produc'd, at once, many of the greateſt Crops of Corn that ever grew.

But ſince Plants thrive, and make their Produce, in proportion to the Nouriſhment they have within the Ground, not to the Room they have to ſtand upon it, one very narrow Row may contain more Plants than a wide Interval can nouriſh, and bring to their full Perfection, by all the Art that can be uſed; and 'tis impoſſible a Crop ſhould be loſt for want of room to ſtand above the Ground, tho' it were leſs than a Tenth-part of the Surface (*a*).

In wide Intervals there is another Advantage of Hoeing, I mean Horſe-hoeing (the other being more like Scratching and Scraping than Hoeing): There is room for many Hoeings (*b*), which muſt not come

very

(*a*) Mr. *Houghton* calculates, that a Crop of Wheat of Thirty Quarters to an Acre, each Ear has two Inches and a Half of Surface; by which 'tis evident, that there wou'd be room for many ſuch prodigious Crops to ſtand on.

And a Quick-hedge, ſtanding between two Arable Grounds, one Foot broad at Bottom, and Eighteen Feet in Length, will, at Fourteen Years Growth, produce more of the ſame ſort of Wood, than Eighteen Feet ſquare of a Coppice will produce in the ſame time, the Soil of both being of equal Goodneſs.

This ſeems to be the ſame Caſe with our ho'd Rows; the Coppice, if it were to be cut in the Firſt Years, would yield perhaps Ten times as much Wood, as the Hedge; but many of the Shoots of the Coppice conſtantly die every Year, for want of ſufficient Nouriſhment, until the Coppice is fit to be cut; and then its Product is much leſs than that of the Hedge, whoſe Paſture has not been over-ſtock'd to ſuch a degree as the Coppice-Paſture has been; and therefore brings its Crop of Wood to greater Perfection than the Coppice-Wood, which has Eighteen times the Surface of Ground to ſtand on: The Hedge has the Benefit of Hoeing, as oft as the Land on either ſide of it is till'd; but the Coppice, like the ſown Corn, wants that Benefit.

(*b*) Many Hoeings; but if it ſhould be aſked how many, we may take *Columella*'s Rule in hoeing the Vines, *viz. Numerus autem vertendi Soli* (*bidentibus*) *definiendus non eſt, cum quanto cre-*

brior

very near the Bodies of ſome annual Plants, except whilſt they are young; but, in narrow Intervals, this cannot be avoided at every Hoeing: 'Tis true, that in the laſt Hoeings, even in the middle of a large Interval, many of the Roots may be broken off by the Hoe-plough, at ſome conſiderable Diſtance from the Bodies; but yet this is no Damage, for they ſend out a greater Number of Roots than before; as in the Mint, in Chap. I. appears.

In wide Intervals, thoſe Roots are broken off only where they are ſmall; for tho' they are capable of running out to more than the Length of the external Parts of a Plant; yet 'tis not neceſſary they ſhould always do ſo; if they can have ſufficient Food nearer to the Bodies (*a*) of the Plants.

And theſe new, young, multiply'd Roots are fuller of Lacteal Mouths than the older ones; which makes it no Wonder, that Plants ſhould thrive faſter by having ſome of their Roots broken off by the Hoe; for as Roots do not enter every Pore of the Earth, but miſs great Part of the Paſture, which is left unexhauſted, ſo when new Roots ſtrike out from the broken Parts of the old, they meet with that Paſture, which their Predeceſſors miſs'd, beſides that new Paſture which the Hoe raiſes for them; and thoſe Roots which the Hoe pulls out without breaking,

---

brior ſit, plus prodeſſe foſſionem conveniat. Sed impenſarum ratio modum poſtulat. Lib. 4. Cap. 5.

Neither is it altogether the Number of Hoeings that determines the Degrees of Pulveration: For, Once well done, is Twice done; and the oftener the better, if the Expence be not exceſſive.

Poor Land, be it never ſo light, ſhould have the moſt Hoeings; becauſe Plants, receiving but very little Nouriſhment from the natural Paſture of ſuch Land, require the more artificial Paſture to ſubſiſt on.

(*a*) All the Mould is never ſo near to the Bodies of Plants, as 'tis when the Row ſtands on a high Six-feet Ridge, when the middle of the Interval is left bare of Earth, at the laſt Hoeing: for then all the Mould may be but about a Foot, or a Foot and half, diſtant from the Body of each Plant of a Treble Row.

and

ally; if wider, too much Earth will loſe the Benefit of the Horſe-hoe.

The poorer the Soil is, the more Pulveration will be neceſſary to it.

When a great Seaſon of Wheat is drill'd, it cannot be expected that much of it can be plowed dry, tho' it is advantageous when there happens an Opportunity for doing it; but by long Experience I find, that in moſt of my Lands it does very well, when plowed in a moderate Temper of Moiſture.

It may not be amiſs to harrow it once after it is drill'd, which will, in ſome meaſure, diſappoint the Rooks; beſides covering the Wheat, if, perchance, any ſhould miſs being covered by the Drill-harrow.

But theſe, and all Harrows that go on a Ridge, both before and after it is drill'd, ſhould be very light, and faſtened together in the common manner; except that the Pole muſt be faſtened to each Harrow in Two Places; which keeps them both as Level, as if they were One ſingle Harrow: Otherwiſe the Ridges would be too ſharp at the Top, and the Partitions would lie higher than the Rows, and ſome of their Earth would be apt to fall on the Rows when it is Hand-hoed.

By means of this level Harrowing, there is left an open Furrow in the Middle of the Interval, which much facilitates the Firſt Horſe-hoeing.

But when, after a Crop is taken off, the Ridges are plowed twice, as they may be where the one Partition hath been well Hand-ho'd; 'tis better to harrow the firſt-made Ridges in the common manner; becauſe then ſome of the fine Earth, that is harrow'd down, will reach to the Middle of the Intervals whereon the Ridges are to be made for Drilling: Or if there ſhould be time for plowing thrice, the Ridges of the Firſt and Second Plowings, are to be harrow'd in the common manner alſo.

The

The Harrowing of Ridges muſt never be croſs-ways, unleſs they are to be made level for Croſs-plowing, in order to lay out the Ridges of a Breadth different to what they were of before.

When you perceive the Ridges are too high, harrow them lower by the deſcribed manner of Harrowing; firſt with the heavy Harrows for harrowing out the Stubble, and then with light ones, which may be often, for making the Earth on the Ridges the finer for Drilling, without throwing much of it down; frequent Harrowings in this manner, not being injurious like too much Harrowing on level Ground, which is ſometimes trodden as hard as the Highway by the Cattle that draw the Harrows; for in harrowing theſe Ridges, the Beaſt draws the Two Harrows, and always treads in the Furrow between them, where there is none or very little Mould to tread on.

The Price of Hand-hoeing of theſe double Rows is a Peny for Thirty Perches in Length of Row, which amounts to between Eighteen and Nineteen Pence for an Acre.

I ſhould ſay, that in Hand-hoeing the Earth muſt never be turned towards the Wheat; for, if it were, it might cruſh it when young; neither could the Partition be clean hoed.

The Hand-hoes for hoeing the Ten-inch Partition have their Edges Seven Inches long; they are about Four Inches deep from the Handle; if they were deeper, they would be too weak; for they muſt be thin, and well ſteeled. The Labourers pay for them, and keep them in Order, for their own Uſe.

Theſe Hoes muſt not cut out any Part of the Two Rows, nor be drawn through them; as the Four-inch Hoes ſometimes may through the treble Rows.

If I am taxed with Levity in changing my treble Rows for double ones, it will not appear to be done of a ſudden. In *p.* 132. I adviſed the Trial of both

Sorts:

Sorts: And now, upon fuller Experience, I find the double Rows much preferable to the treble, eſpecially for Wheat.

When Gentlemen ſaw the middle Row on low Ridges ſo much inferior to the outſide Rows, they were convinced of the Effect of deep Hoeing; for they ſaid, there was no other Reaſon for this ſo viſible a Difference, except the outſide Rows ſtanding nearer to the pulveriz'd Intervals than the middle Row did.

And when on high Ridges the middle Row was nearly or quite as good as one of the outſide Rows, I was not convinced, that they were not diminiſhed by the middle Row, as much as the Produce of it amounted to: And this I now find to be the Caſe; for Four Rows of Oats, without a middle Row, produced ſomewhat more than the ſame Number that had a middle Row; Two of which treble Rows were taken on one Side, and Two on the other Side of the double Rows, purpoſely to make an unexceptionable Trial. And it is, as far as I can judge, the ſame in Wheat.

'Tis true, I began my Horſe-hoeing *Scheme* firſt with double Rows; but then they were different to what they are now; for the firſt had their Partition uneven, being the parting Space, whereby it was leſs proper for Hand-hoeing, which I then ſeldom uſed, except for abſolute Neceſſity, as to cleanſe our Poppies, and the like. The Intervals alſo were too narrow for conſtant annual Crops.

By all theſe Three Methods I have had very good Crops; but as this I now deſcribe is the lateſt, and is (as it ought to be) the beſt; I publiſh it as ſuch, without Partiality to my own Opinions; for I think it leſs diſhonourable to expoſe my Errors, when I chance to detect them, than to conceal them: And as I aim at nothing but Truth, I cannot, with any Satiſfaction to my ſelf, ſuffer any thing of my own knowingly to eſcape, that is in the leaſt contrary to it.

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I have a Piece of Five or Six Acres of Land which I annually plant with boiling Peaſe, in the very ſame manner as Wheat; except that the Second Horſe-hoeing (which is the laſt) throws the Earth ſo far upon the Peaſe as to make the Two Rows become One. Theſe Peaſe cannot be planted until after the 25th of *March*; elſe Two Horſe-hoeings might not be ſufficient. The ſame Drill that plants Wheat plants Peaſe; only ſometimes we change the Spindle for one that has its Notches a little bigger.

I drill no more Barley, becauſe 'tis not proper to be followed by a Crop of Wheat without a Fallow; for ſome of the ſhatter'd Barley will live over the Winter, and mix with the Wheat in the Rows, and can ſcarce poſſibly be thence timely taken out, its firſt Stalk and Blade being difficult to diſtinguiſh from the Wheat; and this is a great Damage to the Sale in the Market; and for the ſame Reaſon I plant no more Oats.

The Firſt Hoeing is perform'd by turning a Furrow from the Row.

We are not ſo exact as to the Weather in the Firſt Hoeing; for if the Earth be wet, the Hoe-plough may go nearer to the Row, without burying the Wheat; and the Froſt of the Winter will pulverize that Part of the (a) Furrow, which is to be thrown to the Wheat in the Spring, altho' it was ho'd wet.

Neither is it neceſſary to be very exact as to Time; but it muſt never be till the Wheat has more than One Blade; and it may be ſoon enough, when it has Four or Five Leaves, ſo that it is done before (b), or in the Beginning of Winter.

The

(a) The Word Furrow ſignifies the Earth that is thrown out, as well as the Trench from whence it is thrown by the Plough.

(b) But if the Wheat is planted very late, it may not be *hoeable* before the Winter is paſt; nor is there ſuch a Neceſſity of hoeing

The greateſt Fault you can commit in Hoeing, is the Firſt time, when the Furrow is turn'd from the Row, not to go near enough to it, nor deep enough. You cannot then go too near it, unleſs you plow it out, or bury it with Mould, and do not uncover it; nor too deep, unleſs you go below the Staple of the Ground.

Servants are apt to hoe too far from the Rows, going backwards and forwards, in the Middle of the Intervals, without coming near the Rows: This loſes moſt of the Benefit of Hoeing, and is very injurious to the preſent Crop, and alſo to the Two ſucceeding Crops; for then there will be a Deficiency of pulveriz'd Earth; and nobody can ſuppoſe, that the ho'd Earth can be of any Benefit to the Rows, before the Roots reach into it; and when 'tis far off, few of the Roots reach it at all; and thoſe that do reach, come there too late to bring the Plants to their full Perfection: Therefore, if the Firſt Furrow was not near enough, nor deep enough, plow a Second Furrow at the Bottom of the former, which will go deeper than the Firſt, and break the Earth more; beſides taking away from the Rows ſuch unmov'd Ground, which the Firſt Plowing may poſſibly have miſs'd. If this can't be conveniently done ſoon after the Firſt Hoeing, do it before the Ridge is turn'd back in the Spring.

Always leave the Furrows turn'd up, to make (a) Ridges in the Middle of the Intervals during the Winter;

---

hoeing the late-planted before the great Froſts are over, as there is of the early-planted; for the later 'tis planted, the leſs time the Earth has to ſubſide, and grow hard.

Note, By Winter we do not mean only thoſe Months that are properly ſo reckoned, but alſo ſuch other Months as have hard Froſts in them, as *January*, *February*, and ſometimes the Beginning of *March*.

(a) Tho' the Ridge in the Middle of the Interval ſhould, for want of ſufficient Mould, or otherwiſe, be too low to give Shel-

J.d.
1540

THE ECONOMIC JOURNAL

THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ECONOMIC SOCIETY

Edited by
R. F. HARROD and E. A. G. ROBINSON
assisted by
R. C. O. MATTHEWS

VOLUME LXVI

* From W. W. Rostow, "The Take-Off into Self-Sustained Growth," in THE ECONOMIC JOURNAL, LXVI, 1956, 44-45.

In this selection Rostow explains the take-off of the British economy in the eighteenth century by pointing to the cotton textile industry as the growth producing industry in that time.

LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO LIMITED
NEW YORK: THE ST MARTIN'S PRESS
1956

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STATISTICS FOR EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BRITAIN

Tables from D. B. Horn, ed., ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957) 508; N. S. B. Gras and Henrietta Larson, CASEBOOK IN AMERICAN BUSINESS HISTORY (New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1939) 199; and Arthur Youngson, POSSIBILITIES OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 142, 145.

These tables give statistics of population in England between 1700 and 1801, the production of steam engines by Boulton and Watt between 1787 and 1801, the industries buying steam engines from Boulton & Watt, 1775-1800, British exports, 1730-1800, British output of pig iron 1720-1796, and imports of new cotton 1721-1800. Also patents granted, 1733-1793.

SECTION III

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY - 1800 to the PRESENT

THE PROBLEMS OF MODERN SOCIETY

Over a period of six hundred years, western Europe emerged from its medieval cocoon as a highly innovative and complex society. The Italian Renaissance had helped reshape European values by exalting humanism and individualism. The rise of Parliament and the creation of an absolutist state in France had developed new forms of political organization. The scientific revolution had given western man the most efficient tool yet conceived to bring about rapid change, the scientific method. The emergence of the market economy spurred great changes in living standards. Industrial, intellectual, political, and social revolutions quickened the pace of change in the eighteenth century. Traditional ways of doing things were no longer sufficient. Modern man found himself adrift on a turbulent sea of change. How to make decisions in such a world? In what can man find permanent value? These are the problems that confront today's world. These are the problems that are the subjects of the remaining units in this book.

UNIT XII

NATIONALISM

Stating the Issue

Today most men give their primary allegiance to nation states. The nation is the major political, social, and economic unit of group organization. Men are ruled by national governments. They identify themselves as citizens of a country. The consider themselves French, Italian, German, or American even when they are living in a foreign land. To a greater or lesser degree most nations try to make themselves a self-sufficient economic unit. Trade flows freely within the nation; between nations many barriers interrupt it.

The nation has not always played such a central role in human life. The loyalties of men have been given to other forms of group organization. The Greek city state commanded a man's greatest loyalty. The Roman Empire included Goths, Egyptians, Greeks, Italians, Africans and dozens of other ethnic groups. During the Middle Ages the loyalties of men were divided between their lord, their church, and their family. During the Italian Renaissance, man's loyalties were once again focused on the city state. Only in the modern world has nationalism as we know it emerged as an almost universal phenomenon.

But what is the nation, and why does it have this holding power on the loyalties of men? What is nationalism? No dictionary definition can answer these questions fully. Like other general words, such as democracy, socialism, or communism, the meaning of nationalism has varied according to time and place. What nationalism meant to a sixteenth century Englishman is not the same as what it meant to a nineteenth century Italian or twentieth century German.

This unit focuses on the changing definition of nationalism in particular, and the problem of making an historical definition in general. As you study the evidence in readings 47 through 50, ask yourself, "In what ways do these writers express their nationalism? What is their definition of the nation? What is the purpose of the nation? Why does the nation command such loyalty? Is there any general definition of nationalism that accounts for its varying forms and expressions?"

READING XLVII

NATIONALISM IN TUDOR ENGLAND

The idea of nationalism first developed in England, the first modern country to become a true nation state. Powerful monarchs had subdued the independent local barons and reduced the influence of the Pope in England's religious affairs. The kings had also forged strong links between themselves and the common people through the rich merchants and titled country gentlemen. With the growth of Parliament, England was also the first nation to give commoners a significant voice in making political decisions.

English nationalism bloomed during the sunny reigns of the Tudor kings and queens. Before the first Tudor monarch, Henry VII, came to the throne, the island nation had been plagued with rivalry between two families who competed for the right to rule England. Henry Tudor finally emerged as the only man strong enough to appease both factions. Upon his accession to the throne, Henry immediately began to accumulate more and more power at the expense of the nobility. His policies were continued by his son, Henry VIII, who also broke the hold of the Roman Catholic church on Egnlish religious affairs. Following Henry VIII's reign, the boy-king, Edward VI, and his half-sister, Mary, were unable or unwilling to continue the movement toward the creation of a strong, independent national monarchy. Mary's successor, Elizabeth, picked up the pieces. Under her benevolent rule, the English monarchy gained greater stature and England won a dominant position in the affairs of the world.

The Tudor period in England was an era of intense national feeling. Loyalty to the nation went hand in glove with the attempts of the Tudor monarchs to create a unified, strong nation. In fact, it is doubtful that the Tudors would have been so successful had it not been for the development of national pride among their countrymen. The Tudor kings and queens used Englishmen's national feeling to help create their strong monarchy, while at the same time, their efforts to build the nation-state encouraged the development of nationalism in their subjects.

The following selections bear testimony to the growth of nationalism in England during the reigns of the Tudor monarchs. As you read, consider the following questions.

1. On what institutions or persons did English nationalism depend?
2. In what aspects of their country and their country's activities did Tudor Englishmen take pride?
3. How would you compare the patriotism of Tudor Englishmen with your own sense of patriotism?
4. What purposes do you think Shakespeare had in mind when he wrote Henry V and Richard II?

ENGLAND CHALLENGE'S THE POPE'S AUTHORITY *

In 1533, Henry VIII attempted to obtain an annulment of his marriage to Katharine of Aragon, but was frustrated by the Pope's refusal to grant it. Rather than give in to the Pope's wishes, Henry called his Parliament and found its members willing and ready to bring about a break with the Holy See. In the following declaration, the Parliament explained why they were willing to support Henry.

WE, your obedient and faithful subjects, members of the House of Commons, most humbly beseech your most Royal majesty:

That, your subjects of this, your Realm...have been...greatly decayed and impoverished by the intolerable taxes imposed by the Bishop of Rome, called the Pope. ...

That these taxes have been collected even outside the laws and customs of this realm. ...

That the Pope has not only been to blame for this usurpation, but also is to blame for abusing and tricking your subjects into believing that he has full power to over-ride all humane laws and customs of this your Realm, and any other realm (he and his predecessors have for many years derogated the English crown and the Royal authority, contrary to right and to conscience)....

And in this, your Grace's Realm, we recognize no superior under God except your Grace, and we recognize no laws except those that have been made within this Realm for its continued prosperity, and the people of this realm have bound themselves by long use and custom to the laws made by our own consent and the sufferance of your Grace and your predecessors, and we refuse to obey the laws of a foreign prince, potentate, or prelate. ...

It stands to good reason that by all laws of the Realm, your Grace and your Parliament have the authority to annul all laws made by foreigners and to make laws that will be convenient for the wealth of your Realm.

Because it is seen that the state, dignity, superiority, reputation and authority of the Royal Crown of this Realm is much decayed by the unreasonable and uncharitable usurpations practiced by the Roman See, and because the people of this Realm are thereby impoverished, Be it therefore provided:

For the honour of Almighty God and for the tender love, zeal, and affection that you bear and have always borne for the wealth of this Realm and its subjects, that no person or persons of this your Realm shall from henceforth pay any taxes to the See of Rome.

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* An Act for the Exoneration from exactions paid to the See of Rome, in The Statutes of the Realm; Printed by Command of His Majesty George the Third (London, 1817), III, 464-71. (Language modernized and simplified by John M. Good.)

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE AND THE "SCEPTER'D ISLE"

William Shakespeare's plays were performed before large London audiences. The patrons of the Globe Theater in Elizabeth's day included men and women of all classes. Some of the most popular of Shakespeare's works were those recapturing the history of England. Three extracts from two of these plays follow.

From Henry V, Act 3, Scene 1.
As he prepares to take on the French at Agincourt, Henry exhorts his troops:

Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more;
Or close the wall up with our English dead.
In peace, there's nothing so becomes a man
As modest stillness and humility:
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
Then imitate the action of the tiger;
Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,
Disguise fair nature with hard-favour'd rage:
Then lend the eye a terrible aspect;
Let it pry through the portage of the head,
Like the brass cannon; let the brow o'erwhelm it,
As fearfully as doth a galled rock
O'erhang and jutty his confounded base,
Swilled with the wild and wasteful ocean.
Now set the teeth, and stretch the nostril wide,
Hold hard the breath, and bend up every spirit
To his full height. On, on, you noblest English,
Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof;
Fathers, that, like so many Alexanders,
Have, in these parts, from morn till even fought,
And sheath'd their swords for lack of argument: . . .
Be copy now to men of grosser blood,
And teach them how to war!

And you, good yeomen,
Whose limbs were made in England; show us here
The mettle of your pasture; let us swear
That you are worth your breeding; which I doubt not;
For there is none of you so mean and base,
That hath not noble lustre in your eyes.
I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips,
Straining upon the start. The game's afoot:
Follow your spirit; and upon this charge
Cry -- "God for Harry! England! and Saint George!"

From Henry V, Act 4, Scene 3.
Henry is about to lead his men into the battle of
Agincourt. To rally them, he says:

. . . No, My fair cousin:
If we are marked to die, we are enough
To do our country loss: and if to live,
The fewer men, the greater share of honor.
God's will, I pray thee wish not one man more.
By Jove, I am not covetous for gold,
Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost:
It earns me not if men my garments wear;
Such outward things dwell not in my desires.
But if it be a sin to covet honour,
I am the most offending soul alive.
. . . .
This day is called the feast of Crispian:
He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,
Will stand tip-toe when this day is named,
And rouse him at the name of Crispian.
He that shall see this day, and live old age,
Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbors,
And say, "Tomorrow is Saint Crispian."
Then will he strip his sleeve, and show his scars,
And say, "These wounds I had on Crispin's day."
. . . We few, we happy few, we band of brothers:
For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother: be he ne'er so vile,
This day shall gentle his condition.
And gentlemen in England, now a-bed
Shall think themselves accursed they were not here;
And hold their manhoods cheap, whiles any speaks
That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day.

From Richard II, Act 2, Scene 1.
In a soliloquy, Richard says:

This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands, --
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm,
this England, . . .

THE LAST FIGHT OF THE REVENGE *

Sir Richard Grenville, commander of the British Man of War, the REVENGE, lost his ship to the Spanish in 1591. His friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, came to Sir Richard's defense when rumors began to circulate that the commander had been cowardly.

* From C. W. Colby, SELECTIONS FROM THE SOURCES OF ENGLISH HISTORY, (London: Longmans, green, 1911).

This selection tells of how the Revenge held off an attack from a more powerful Spanish ship despite tremendous difficulties. According to Sir Walter Raleigh, the author of the selection, Grenville appealed to his sailors' patriotic pride, and they withstood the attack.

STEPHEN GOSSON SCORNS LONDON FASHIONS **

Stephen Gosson was a contemporary of William Shakespeare. As one of London's foremost playwrites, he became disturbed at the types of costumes in which the Englishmen of his day indulged. He wrote a scathing attack on the fashions of the day in a work called THE SCHOOL OF ABUSE, a selection from which follows.

God hath now blessed England with a Queen, in virtue excellent, in power mighty, in glory renowned, in government politic, in possession rich, breaking her foes with the bent of her brow, ruling her subjects with shaking her hand, removing debate by diligent foresight, filling her chests with fruits of peace, ministering justice by order of law, reforming abuses with great regard. . . . But we unworthy servants of so milde a mistress, unnatural children of so good a mother, unthankful subjects of so loving a prince, wound her royal heart by abusing her leniency, and stir Jupiter to anger to send us a stroke that shall devour us. How often hath her majesty with the grave advise of her honourable councell, set down the limits of apparel to every degree, and how soon again hath the pride of our hearts overflown the limits? How many times hath access to theaters been restrained, and how boldly again have we re-entered?

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* Sir Walter Raleigh, "A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores," taken from C. W. Colby, SELECTIONS FROM THE SOURCES OF ENGLISH HISTORY (London: Longmans, Green, 1911) and adapted and simplified by T. R. Tomlinson.

** From Stephen Gosson, THE SCHOOLE OF ABUSE, Edward Alber, ed. (London, 1869), 39. (Language and spelling modernized and simplified by John M. Good.)

QUEEN ELISABETH'S LAST SPEECH *

In 1601, after Parliament had bestowed great honors upon her, Elizabeth made a speech to the members, a small extract from which follows:

Though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves. . . . It is not my desire to live or reign longer than my life and reign shall be for your good. And though you have had, and may have, many mightier and wiser princes sitting in this seat, yet you never had, nor shall have, any that will love you better.

READING XLVIII

NINETEENTH CENTURY NATIONALISM IN ITALY

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the ideas of the French Revolution were still fresh in the minds of Europeans. The relentless march of Napoleon's troops across all Europe spread the principles of liberté, égalité, and fraternité far and wide. Napoleon's defeat was followed by a European congress of heads of state. The kings and princes tried to turn the clock back to the world they had known before the revolution. They remade the map of Europe and re-established the toppled thrones of the old monarchies. But they could not make Europeans forget the ideas Napoleon's troops had left in their wake.

The most captivating ideas of the revolution were the liberal principles of equality and liberty and the idea of patriotism. Europeans everywhere longed to establish republics of free and equal, patriotic citizens. Nowhere did the spirit of the revolution capture the minds and hearts of men as it did in Italy. During the first half of the nineteenth century the peninsula seethed with rebellious movements trying to incorporate the ideals of the revolution in the Italian political system.

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* Quoted in S. T. Bindoff, TUDOR ENGLAND (Penguin Books, Baltimore: 1950), 306.

The Congress of Vienna in 1815 had seen to it that the ideas of the French Revolution would not be expressed in Italian institutions. The peninsula was divided into ten different states. Two of them were directly controlled by the Austrian Emperor, and at least three others were ruled by the Emperor's relatives. One of the countries was ruled by the Pope and another by the Bourbon relatives of the king of Spain. Only the Kingdom of Sardinia was ruled by a native, Italian royal family. In the words of the Austrian Premier, Clemens von Metternich, "Italy was just a geographic expression."

The division of Italy and its subordination to foreign states was intolerable to Italians who had been infected with the ideas of the revolution. To them, the despotic governments of foreign princes and the divisions of their country presented one and the same problem. They bent all of their efforts toward righting this wrong to their homeland.

The selections in Reading 58 are taken from representative Italian patriots of the early nineteenth century. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How does each writer define the nation? What does each believe is so important about making a unified nation out of Italy?
2. How do the ideas of the Italian patriots compare with those of Bolingbroke? with Price? Do they have any ideas in common? On what ideas might they disagree?
3. Do the Italian patriots agree with each other? In what ideas do they disagree? What ideas do they share in common?
4. What ideas of the French Revolution are embodied in the ideas of the Italian patriots?

GIUSSEPPE MAZZINI AND "YOUNG ITALY" *

One of the most ardent of all Italian patriots was Giuseppe Mazzini. He founded a society called "Young Italy" whose purpose was to further Italian independence and unity. His visionary schemes failed, in the end, but his constant agitation for Italian unity implanted nationalism firmly in Italian minds.

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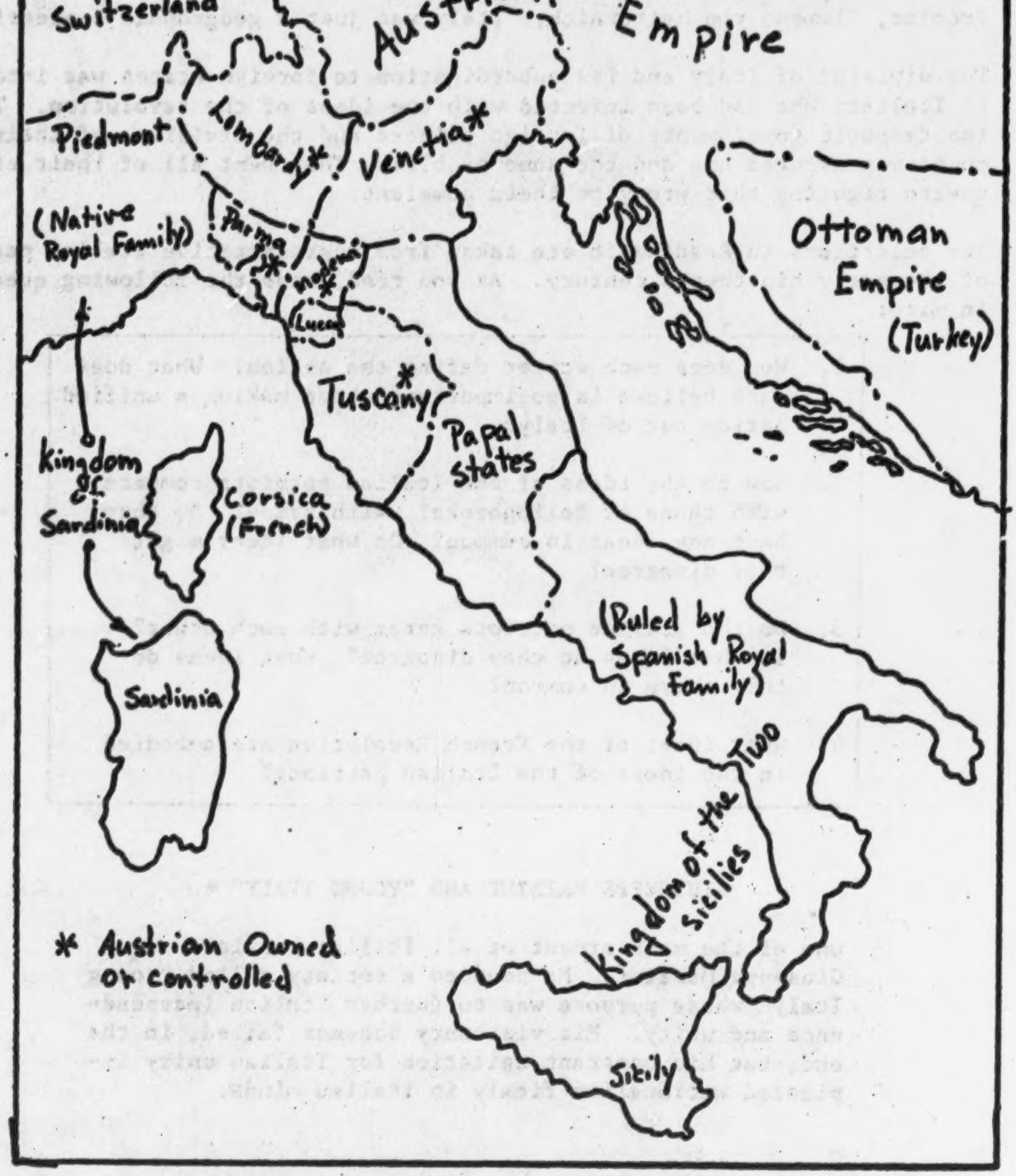
* From LIFE AND WRITINGS OF JOSEPH MAZZINI, (London: 1890) 90-112 passim.


Switzerland
Austrian Empire
Piedmont
Lombardy*
Venetia*
(Native Royal Family)
Parma
*
Modena
*
Lucca
Ottoman Empire (Turkey)
*
Tuscany
Papal states
Kingdom of Sardinia
Corsica (French)
(Ruled by Spanish Royal Family)
Sardinia
Kingdom of the Two Sicilies
Sicily
* Austrian Owned or Controlled

ITALY in 1848

Young Italy is a brotherhood of Italians who believe in a law of progress and duty, and are convinced that Italy is destined to become one nation - convinced also that she possesses sufficient strength within herself to become one, and that the ill success of her former efforts is to be attributed not to the weakness, but to the misdirection of the revolutionary elements within her - that the secret of force lies in constancy and unity of effort. They join this Association in the firm intent of consecrating both thought and action to the great aim of reconstituting Italy as one independent sovereign nation of free men and equals. . . .

The aim of the Association is revolution; but its labors will be essentially educational, both before and after the day of revolution; and it therefore declares the principles upon which the national education should be conducted, and from which alone Italy may hope for safety and regeneration. . . .

Young Italy is republican and unitarian.

Republican--because theoretically every nation is destined, by the law of God and humanity, to form a free and equal community of brothers; and the republican is the only form of government that insures this future.

Because all true sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, the sole progressive and continuous interpreter of the supreme moral law. . . .

Young Italy is republican, because practically there are no monarchical elements in Italy. We have no powerful and respected aristocracy to take the intermediate place between the throne and the people; we have no dynasty of Italian princes possessing any tradition of either glory or important services rendered to the development of the nation and commanding the affection and sympathy of the various states.

Because our Italian tradition is essentially republican; our great memories are republican; the whole history of our national progress is republican; whereas the introduction of monarchy amongst us was coeval with our decay, and consummated our ruin by its constant servility to the foreigner, and antagonism to the people, as well as to the unity of the nation.

Because, while the populations of the various Italian states would cheerfully unite in the name of a principle which could give no umbrage to local ambition, they would not willingly submit to be governed by a man - the offspring of one of those states; and their several pretensions would necessarily tend to federalism. . . .

Because, before you can induce a whole people to rise, it is necessary to place before them an aim, appealing directly and in an intelligible manner to their own advantage, and their own rights. . . .

Young Italy is unitarian --

Because, without unity, there is no true nation.

Because, without unity there is no real strength; and Italy, surrounded as she is by powerful, united, and jealous nations, has need of strength before all things. . . .

National unity, as understood by Young Italy, does not imply the despotism of any, but the association and concord of all. The life inherent in each locality is sacred. Young Italy would have the administrative organization designed upon a broad basis of religious respect for the liberty of each commune, but the political organization, destined to represent the nation in Europe, should be one and central.

Without unity of religious belief, and unity of social pact; without unity of civil, political, and penal legislation, there is no true nation.

VINCENZO GIOBERTI: UNITY UNDER THE POPE *

Vincenzo Gioberti was a Roman Catholic priest who became deeply involved in the movements for Italian unity and independence. In the following selection he presents his plan for unification.

* From Thomas C. Mendenhall et al., THE QUEST FOR A PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY IN EUROPE (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1948) II, 180.

Gioberti argues, in this selection, for the unification of Italy under the authority of the Pope. Gioberti claims that the Pope is the natural ruler, for he is symbolic of the one common bond of all Italians, their religion.

COUNT CAMILLO CAVOUR: UNITY UNDER NATIVE PRINCES **

Count Cavour was the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sardinia. He headed a liberal parliamentary form of government based upon the English model. In this selection he offers his reasons for wanting to unite Italy.

** From Thomas C. Mendenhall, et al., QUEST FOR A PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY IN EUROPE: 1715-PRESENT (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1948) 183.

In this famous essay, Cavour argued that a sense of nationalism was necessary for the maintenance of dignity among the poorer classes.

READING XLIX

NINETEENTH CENTURY NATIONALISM IN GERMANY

Liberal, nationalistic revolutions broke out in every major European country in 1848. The peoples of Austria, Germany, Italy, and France, remembering the principles of the French Revolution, tried to revive the ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity in those countries where the reactionary governments had endeavored to crush them. The revolutionary ideas had been frustrated by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Germans and Italians who wanted a united fatherland and the subject peoples of Austria who wished to free themselves from the Emperor's rule had to surrender to the might of old regimes. In 1848, these groups tried to make their dreams come true through revolution, but the established order was still too strong, and once again their ambitions were shattered.

During the 1848 uprising a group of scholars, professional men, and authors met in Frankfurt to draw up a constitution for a united Germany. They hoped to unite the 180 independent states of Germany under a constitutional monarchy, headed by the King of Prussia. The members of the Frankfurt Assembly submitted their proposal to the Prussian monarch, hoping he would accept it and use his power to bring all of the German states under one roof. But the king was unwilling to accept the limitations on his power which the Frankfurt Assembly had written into the constitution. The dream of a united fatherland faded into obscurity.

The nationalist spirit did not fade, however, and the hope of a united nation was kept alive in the pamphlets and books written by German scholars and agitators. The King of Prussia himself pursued a policy of uniting the country on his own terms. In this task he was aided by the brilliant diplomacy and intrigue of his gifted Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck. Unity was finally achieved in 1871 after Prussia had fought wars with Denmark, Austria and France. The Prussian monarchy had forged the nation for which many Germans had so ardently hoped.

The realization of their aim promoted even greater nationalistic sentiment in the people of Germany. Patriotic writers outdid themselves in praising the virtues of the fatherland. The dream of a united Germany had come true, but there were dreams unfulfilled. Germany still had to win her "place in the sun" as the Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm put it.

The documents in this reading represent the development of German nationalism in the three stages defined above. The first selection is taken from the works of Wilhelm von Humboldt, a German nationalist who wrote before 1848. The second comes from the writings of the architect of German unification, Otto von Bismarck. The final selection is taken from the works of Heinrich von Treitschke who wrote after unification had been achieved. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. **How did German nationalism evolve? How did the principles of nationalism change over the years?**
2. **What ideas do the three nationalists agree upon? On what do they disagree?**
3. **What ideas does each of the nationalists share with the English and Italian patriotic writers?**
4. **What is the German definition of the nation? How does each of the German nationalists define the purpose of the nation? What does each believe to be the benefit of the nation to the individual?**

NATIONALISM BEFORE 1848: WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT *

Humboldt was minister of education in Prussia when Napoleon was on the march in Europe. Concerned about what would happen to Germany after Napoleon's defeat, he drafted the following memorandum in 1813 to indicate the directions necessary to bring about German unity.

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* **From Thomas C. Mendenhall _et al._, QUEST FOR A PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY IN EUROPE (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1948) 207.**

In this selection Wilhelm von Humboldt argues that the only way to induce Germans to unite is under a common constitution that provides for liberal principles.

NATIONALISM AFTER 1848: OTTO VON BISMARCK *

Bismarck was the Iron Chancellor who ultimately achieved unification. In the following selection he spells out the conditions under which he believed Germany could, be unified.

In order that German patriotism should be active and effective, it needs as a rule to hang on the peg of dependence upon a dynasty; independent of dynasty it rarely comes to the rising point, though in theory it daily does so, in parliament, in the press, in public meeting; in practice the German needs either attachment to a dynasty or the goad of anger, hurrying him into action: the latter phenomenon, however, by its own nature is not permanent. It is as a Prussian, a Hanoverian, a Wurtemberger, a Bavarian or a Hessian, rather than as a German, that he is disposed to give unequivocal proof of patriotism; and in the lower orders and the parliamentary groups it will be long before it is otherwise. We cannot say that the Hanoverian, Hessian, and other dynasties were at any special pains to win the affections of their subjects; but nevertheless the German patriotism of their subjects is essentially conditioned by their attachment to the dynasty after which they call themselves. . . . The German's love of Fatherland has need of a prince on whom it can concentrate its attachment. Suppose that all the German dynasties were suddenly deposed; there would then be no likelihood that German national sentiment would suffice to hold all Germans together from the point of view of international law amid the friction of European politics, even in the form of federated Hanse towns and imperial village communes. The Germans would fall a prey to more closely welded nations if they once lost the tie which resides in the princes' sense of community of rank. . . .

The preponderance of dynastic attachment, and the use of a dynasty as the indispensable cement to hold together a definite portion of the nation calling itself by the name of the dynasty is a specific peculiarity of the German Empire. The particular nationalities, which among us have shaped themselves on the bases of dynastic family and possession, include in most cases heterogeneous elements, whose cohesion rests neither on identity of stock nor on similarity of historical development, but exclusively on the fact of some (in most cases questionable) acquisition by the dynasty. . . .

* From Otto von Bismarck, OTTO VON BISMARCK, THE MAN AND THE STATESMAN, trans. A. J. Butler (London: 1898) I, 315-322, passim.

NATIONALISM AFTER UNIFICATION: HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE *

Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-1896) was a noted German historian and ardent nationalist. In his writings he glorified the heroes and patriots who had achieved the unification of the German state.

* From Heinrich Treischke, SELECTIONS FROM LECTURES ON POLITICS (London: Gowens Gray, 1914) 8-25.

In these excerpts Treischke paints a picture of the militant nation state which promotes and protects the integrity and uniqueness of the nation's peoples.

READING L

THE MEANING OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism is one of the most powerful forces affecting modern society. People everywhere think of themselves as citizens of a nation-state. The nation-state gives them a historical past and a tradition with which they can identify themselves. It also outlines the pattern of the future. Both the Soviet dream of a classless society and the American promise of a "Great Society" demonstrate this aspect of nationalism.

The daily existence of people is continually related to the nation-state. The agencies of government record and regulate their existence through birth registration, draft cards, and social welfare records. They are taxed by the nation-state, and through universal suffrage they impose their own taxes. Through nationalism a collection of individuals develop a sense of group consciousness. This consciousness creates a feeling of loyalty which directs the energies of the people to fulfill the tasks that the nation-state sets for itself. Nationalism serves as a means to destroy the barriers which separate people as individuals. It can also be used to accomplish the objectives of the state. Much of the power exercised by modern governments can be explained by nationalism.

Group consciousness is not a modern phenomenon. In primitive societies the development of the family as the primary social unit fostered principles of group loyalty. As the family became the clan and the clan, the tribe, group loyalty remained a continuing characteristic of society. Nor is group loyalty a western phenomenon. Throughout the history of the non-western world one can find striking examples: the Chinese family, the Indian village, the loyalty inspired by the Prophet Mohammed's religion of Islam. Yet historians generally agree that nationalism as we know it is both a modern and a western institution. It draws upon and creates group loyalty, but the existence of group loyalty does not necessarily imply the existence of a sense of nationalism. Nationalism takes a people beyond loyalty to a family, a village, a church, or a universal ideal. The Spartan family, willing to sacrifice the life of its children to the interests of the city-state, were loyal citizens, but they remained Spartan, not "Greek." The medieval craftsmen who labored to erect the magnificent cathedrals of Europe were proof of that age's loyalty to God and the Church, but the cathedrals were universal places of worship, not national. The high sense of individualism which characterized the Italian Renaissance helped prevent Italian cities from unifying in the sixteenth century. Thus nationalism, while it draws upon and creates group loyalty, did not become a truly powerful and influential force in history until it achieved a virtual monopoly on the varying loyalties of men.

Men's loyalties were divided among several institutions in the ancient and medieval world. The "nationalism" of the Greeks attempted to create loyalty to the city-state. The highest civic honor in these states was the status of citizens. The Greek citizen was a patriot, but since only a very small percentage of the people were actually citizens, the base of loyalty was extremely narrow. Rome followed the Greek pattern of government by city-state with a narrow foundation of citizenship. The later Empire awarded universal citizenship, yet loyalty to the imperial concept was inspired primarily by the maintenance of peace.

Early feudal Europe was dominated by the conquering barbarian tribes. A tribal loyalty existed, but the nomadic character of the barbarian peoples made it difficult for them to construct the physical, geographic base which might have aided in the growth of a sense of nationalism. In addition, their political backwardness made it impossible for them to develop the social and political institutions which might have spread the idea of nationalism.

Medieval Europe offers the best example of conflicting loyalties. In theory, medieval men owed loyalty both to their secular ruler and to the Church. In theory there was no divided loyalty since Church and State insisted that no conflict existed between them. In practice, however, every aspect of medieval society indicated the existence of divided loyalties. Many people spent their entire lives on the feudal manor. Their loyalty was to their immediate ruler, the feudal noble, not to the monarch. The feudal oath provided a bond of loyalty between the kings and the nobility. Yet the nobility, often jealous of their privileges, could not be described as ideal citizens of the state. The medieval Church was in a particularly peculiar position. Christianity had a religious monopoly in western Europe. The Church had been the only recognized authority during the early feudal period, and now that Europe was emerging from that chaotic period, it was unwilling to give up its secular power. In a series of bitter struggles, the Church pitted its resources against the secular rulers, calling for Crusades against them and threatening them with excommunication and eternal damnation. The Church failed in its efforts to maintain its secular power, but the peoples of Europe, both noble and non-noble, were forced to take sides. The very universalism of the Church made it anti-nationalist. In its struggle to assert secular power, it acted as a barrier to the development of national sentiments.

Dynastic nationalism, typified by England under the Tudor monarchs, is more closely related to modern nationalism. By means of dynastic marriages, inheritance, and especially warfare, the feudal monarchs slowly consolidated their territories and extended their political power and prestige. We have emphasized the importance of group loyalties in the development of nationalism. The political events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries--the consolidation of territory--cannot fully explain the growth of this early form of modern nationalism. The Protestant Revolt ended the ideal of a universal Christian state. In those sections of Europe where the Reformation was successful, loyalty was transferred from Rome to the new Church. Many of these new Protestant churches became national churches. Protected by the secular ruler, new churches in England, Scotland, the Germanies, and elsewhere added the weight of their moral authority to the state's political authority. Not all of Europe was won over to Protestantism. Yet even in those lands which remained loyal to Rome, the secular monarch often secured significant extensions of power as a reward for continued loyalty. The old conflict between king and pope was submerged by the papacy's new need for support against Protestantism. This is especially true of France and Spain.

Other forces aided in the development of dynastic nationalism. A commercial revolution had occurred partly as a result of the Crusaders' attempt to free the Holy Land. Improvements in agriculture, the growth of population, and continued increases in commerce during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries changed the economic and social character of Europe. Town life began to replace the manor; the growth of commerce created a new class, the middle class. Enterprising merchants found that the medieval church's restrictions on wealth were a a barrier to greater prosperity. Perhaps of greater importance, they saw the lawlessness of the feudal system, its irregular taxes and its continual warfare as harmful to the conduct of business. The merchants found it easy to support the feudal kings in their wars against the Church and the nobility.

The desire for economic gain shattered old loyalties and formed new ones. The relationship between the kings and the businessmen was further established as the monarchs realized the value of a prosperous state. A partnership was formed between the state and its economic interests. Mercantilism, as this partnership was called, was thought to be beneficial to both parties. That it proved not to be did not hinder the growth of nationalism. A new loyalty had been created. For the upper classes of western Europe the concept of the nation had become a reality.

Dynastic nationalism contained two of the central characteristics of modern nationalism: the strong centralized state and the support of a group who had risen above other loyalties. However, it lacked the support of all the people. On the remaining manors and villages of agricultural Europe, the masses remained loyal to their local lord, their church, and their province.

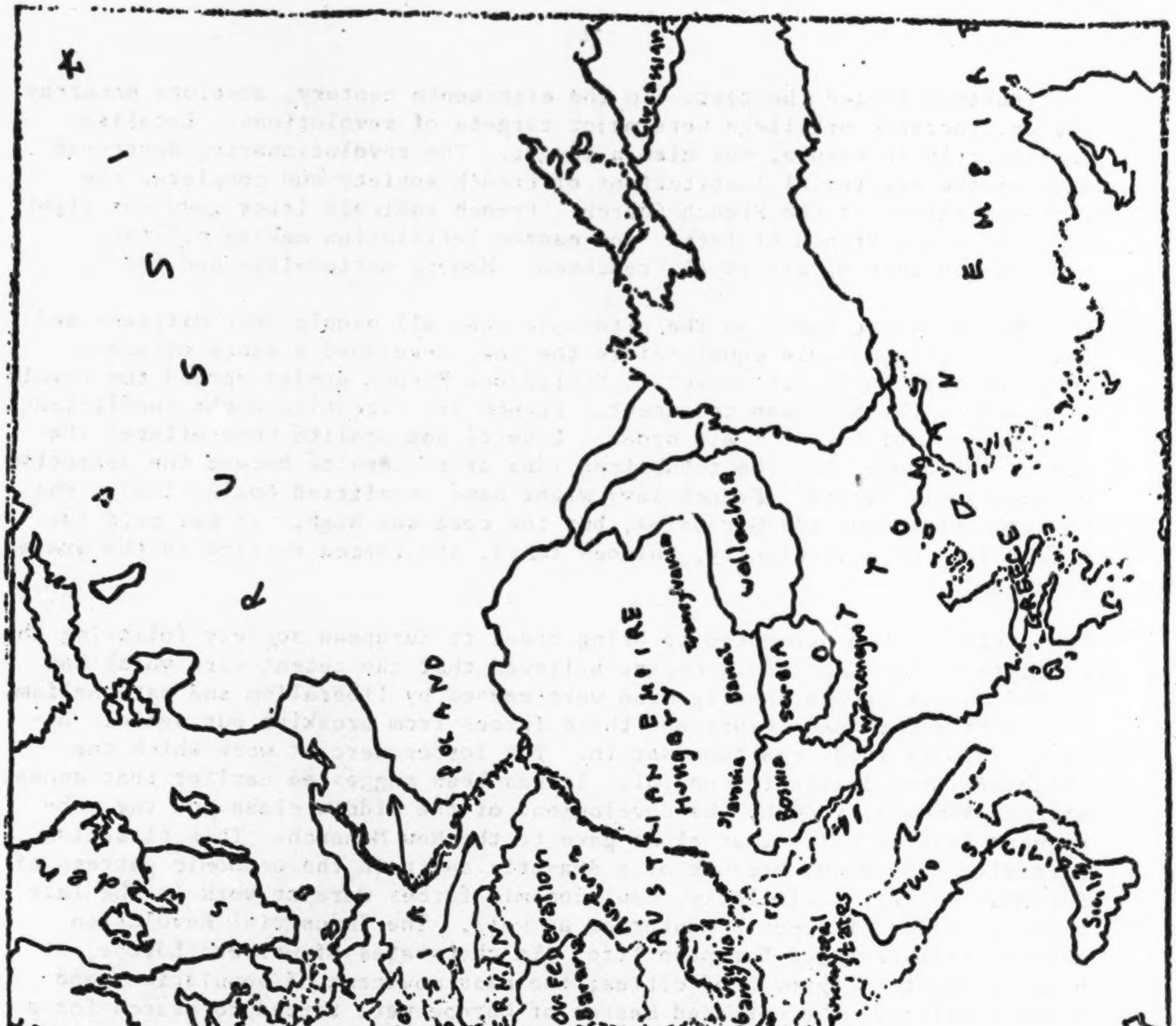
These local loyalties remained powerful until the close of the eighteenth century. During that century a powerful intellectual movement called the Enlightenment attempted to reform European society. The men of the Enlightenment subjected every existing institution to the test of reason. Many institutions failed the test. In the eighteenth century, absolute monarchy and aristocratic privilege were major targets of revolutions. Localism, particularly in France, was also a target. The revolutionaries destroyed many of the provincial institutions of French society and completed the nationalization of the French Church. French radicals later gave the right to vote to all French citizens, and passed legislation making military service the duty of all loyal Frenchmen. Modern nationalism had begun.

A powerful state, based on the principle that all people were citizens and that all citizens were equal before the law, developed a sense of group consciousness in French society. Victorious French armies spread the revolution across the European continent. French law streamlined the inefficient institutions of Europe's old order. Liberté and egalité were offered the people of Europe, but the republican idea of fraternité became the despotism of Napoleonic Empire. French laws might have benefitted Spain, Italy, the Low countries, and the Germanies, but the cost was high. It was paid for in the loss of sovereignity, ruinous taxes, and forced service in the armies of France.

The statesmen who attempted to bring order to European society following the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire believed that the recent wars which had turned Europe into a battleground were caused by liberalism and nationalism. They were determined to prevent these forces from breaking out again. Between 1815 to 1848, reaction set in. But forces were at work which the statesmen were unable to control. It has been suggested earlier that dynastic nationalism was aided by the development of the middle class and the subsequent loyalty which that class gave to the New Monarch. This situation partially came about because of a dramatic shift in the economic pattern of European society. Similarly, new economic forces were at work in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well. The Industrial Revolution substantially changed European life. In the states of western Europe, it brought about the growth of cities, the mass movement of population, and class mobility. The uprooted masses of Europe were forced to search for a new base of loyalty. Religious faith was shaken by the new philosophy of materialism. The urban centers of Europe were impersonal and offered little comfort to the dispossessed rural masses. The principle of class solidarity expressed by Karl Marx made little impression. The nation alone remained as a focal point for the loyalty of the European people.

For a time it was hoped that nationalism might still be joined with the principles of liberalism, that the ideals of the early French Revolution might become a reality. The high-water mark of the liberal-nationalist tide was the revolutionary year of 1848. The almost universal failure of these revolutions to construct a Europe based on the principles of men like Mazzini was a serious blow to liberalism. Nationalism, however, continued to be a powerful force.

The late nineteenth century can be called the "Age of Nationalism." Successful unification movements occurred in the Germanies and in Italy. Nationalist


EUROPE
1815
Boundary of German Confederation 1815
Ireland
Scotland
GREAT BRITAIN
England
Denmark
GERMAN CONFEDERATION
Prussia
Bavaria
Baden
Switzerland
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Hungary
Bohemia
Transylvania
Wallachia
Banat
Serbia
Bosnia
Slavonia
Montenegro
Lombardy
Papal States
TWO SICILIES
Sicily
Corsica
Sardinia
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
POLAND
RUSSIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
GREECE

uprisings periodically occurred in eastern Europe as ethnic minority groups attempted to break the pattern of multi-lingual empires and end domination by an alien cultural and religious state.

This brief summary of the history of nationalism in the western tradition has been designed to show that the roots of contemporary nationalism can be found in earlier times. You should be aware that many complex and interacting forces combined to produce nationalism. The selection from Shakespeare indicates that the literature of a country may be used to inspire a feeling of patriotism. A thoughtful student will be able to suggest similar examples from the history of the United States. Historians often play an important role, for their treatment of a nation's history is often critical. Economic changes not only affect the prosperity of a nation; their effects can destroy old loyalties and help develop new ones. Finally, the development of political institutions are important. The power which the modern state exercises has been gained by taking power from other institutions in society. As local and provincial governments became less important and as religion lost its ability to mold and direct the energies of men, the state filled the power vacuum. Conscious of its power, it carefully cultivated the principle of loyalty.

The influence of nationalism is tremendous. Many historians have suggested that it has replaced orthodox religion as the major faith of men. The comparison is striking. For example, nationalism forces the individual to associate himself with other individuals in a common loyalty and action. This association is not instinctive: it is an abstract ideal which has been carefully cultivated. Like religion, nationalism is developed through symbols. In exploring the religious parallel, one can suggest that the national flag replaces the Christian cross and the national anthem becomes the foremost hymn of the new religion. The hundreds of thousands of Americans who visit Washington, D.C., are in a way, making a pilgrimage to our national shrine, where one feels a closeness with the American heritage while visiting the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the shrines to Lincoln and Jefferson. The heroes of a nation's history become the saints of the new religion. The medieval Church claimed that all people born into medieval society were automatically members of the Church; membership today in the national state system is equally compulsory.

Nationalism has also proved to be as intolerant of noncomformists as the religions of the past. Men have been asked to sacrifice their lives, their property, and their sacred honor. The two wars of our own century offer proof of this statement, and we "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." Nationalism has shown itself to be powerful enough to direct the intellect and the emotions of the world's peoples, developing in them a sense of their own national uniqueness.

UNIT XIII

THE FIRST WORLD WAR: A PROBLEM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Stating the Issue

The modern world teeters on a precarious balance between war and peace. A minor decision made in any of the world capitals can tip the scales toward world peace or total annihilation. Maintaining the precious equilibrium is the major problem of international relations. Some system is necessary to assure that the decisions made by one nation will not lead to war. In the last two hundred years, two methods of maintaining the peace have been tried. Both have failed. In the nineteenth century, European statesmen attempted to create a balance of power between the rival nations of their continent so that none of them would venture into war. The peace of Europe lasted nearly one hundred years, but the unification of Italy and Germany coupled with the weakening of the Austrian Empire destroyed the balance and all Europe went to war in 1914. After the First World War, European and American statesmen tried to develop a system of collective security through an international organization, The League of Nations, but it also failed to keep the peace.

Maintaining the peace has become a more difficult problem in modern times chiefly because of the growth of nationalism. Once the question of war or peace was the private concern of rulers and generals. Now the decision to go to war rests more heavily on the wishes of a nation's citizenry. Once wars involved relatively small armies and rarely involved the citizens of the belligerent nations. The two world wars of the twentieth century have proven that those days are gone for good. Wars have become democratic, calling all the sons and daughters of the fatherland to participate in some way. No nation, even those that did not actively participate in the fighting, escaped the consequences of the First and Second World Wars. Any future war threatens to smother mankind in a radioactive cloud. Yet nationalist fervor may impel decision makers to forget the consequences that will affect all mankind in favor of nationalistic aims and ideals.

Unit XIII concentrates on the first great war of our century. In 1914 European statesmen made decisions that plunged the entire world into war. The war was more deadly and involved more people than any previous war in history. In 1919, a new group of leaders tried to pick up the pieces and establish peace on a more lasting basis. What were the decisions that led to the First World War? Why did European decision makers decide as they did? Why was the First World War so horrible? How did world leaders try to create a Europe which would remain at peace after the war? These are the questions that have puzzled historians since the holocaust flared up in 1914. They are the questions with which this unit is concerned.

READING LI

THE NATURE OF MODERN WARFARE

Over the centuries the waging of war has changed more than any other human activity. In the Middle Ages men opposed each other with swords and maces as they rode upon horseback over green pastures. In the Second World War United States bombers dropped a relatively small bomb which blotted out millions of lives of an enemy they had never seen.

Warfare, like any human activity, reflects the conditions and values of the age. The individualist Greeks fought battles in which each soldier sought his own individual opponent and tried to master him in a man to man struggle. The dutiful Romans fought battles in which each man was merely one of huge number, fighting together as a single unit.

Modern warfare also reflects the conditions of the age. The French Revolution, the development of science and technology, the growth of nationalism, the development of giant industries have all left their mark on the way modern men fight wars. Reading LI presents evidence with which you can construct the relationships between the techniques of warfare and the changes that have taken place in the modern world. As you read, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What is modern warfare like? What makes it the kind of warfare it is?
2. What makes soldiers fight in the face of the terrible conditions of modern warfare?
3. What is the role of the home front in fighting the war?
4. What are the relationships between the way modern wars are fought and the development of nationalism? the growth of industry? the legacy of the French Revolution? the developments of science and technology?

FRANCE IN THE EARLY MONTHS OF THE WAR *

The first selection is taken from an American woman, Edith Wharton, who was living in France when the war broke out. These are her observations of France during the first days of the war.

* From Edith Wharton, FIGHTING FRANCE, (New York: Charles Scribners, 1915) 7-22 passim.

In these selections Edith Wharton explains the mood of France in the early months of the war, pointing out that at first the mood of Frenchmen changed from national spirit to reconciliation with the discomforts war had brought.

A GERMAN SOLDIER OFF TO WAR *

The following selection is a letter written by a German soldier to his parents in which he chronicles his first experiences in the war. The young man, a law student before the war interrupted his life, died four days after the letter was completed.

* From A. F. Wedd, GERMAN STUDENTS' WAR LETTERS, (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd, 1929) 1-4 passim.

This letter from a German youth, chronicles the state of mind of the soldier in World War I. The youth begins with a great sense of national feeling, and ends his letter, before he dies, cursing the horrors of war.

NEWS: THE FALL OF ANTWERP **

The next selection is taken from the lead paragraphs of several newspapers in the early months of the war. These paragraphs show something about the nature of communication in war time.

** From Louis L. Snyder, HISTORIC DOCUMENTS OF WORLD WAR I, (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1958) 138.

Several selections from newspapers indicate the propaganda techniques used in World War I. From a comparatively mild story about the fall of Antwerp, the Allied press manufactures a news story that fabricates great bestiality on the part of the Germans.

THE WAR AND LITERATURE

The next two selections are taken from literature which grew out of the war. The first is from a novel by a German youth who described life in the trenches as he knew it. The second is a poem which tells of a gas attack.

LIFE IN THE TRENCHES ***

*** From Erich Maria Remarque, ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT, A. W. Wheen, trans. (Boston: Little Brown, 1929) 104-115 passim.

This passage from the famous novel which paints the horrors of war in vivid hues, deals with life in the trenches under artillery attack, and the attack of German soldiers against a line of British trenches.

GAS ATTACK ****

**** From Wilfred Owen, "Dulce et Decorum Est," in THE POEMS OF WILFRED OWEN, Edmund Blunden, ed., (London: Chatto and Windus, 1946).

This poem sets out in vivid detail the horrible experience of a gas attack.

READING LII

THE DECISIONS THAT LED TO WAR

Wars do not begin because impersonal causes inevitably lead to the clash of arms. Someone must decide to go to war before wars begin. Whatever the conditions acting upon those decision makers, whatever the forces of history, they ultimately must make a choice which will either bring about war or will not. This reading concerns the decisions of the summer of 1914 in order that you might understand the process of decision making in international relations that brought about the holocaust you read about in Reading LI.

This reading is a bit different from others you have had in this course. Section I deals with the general conditions of pre-war Europe to explain the environment in which the decisions were made. Section II chronicles the decisions made by the various powers in the summer of 1914 when the war broke out. However, you will notice that at the end of each page, one of these powers is about to make a decision but the decision is not revealed. This is done on purpose so that you will have to decide what that nation would do. You should determine what alternative courses of action are open to this country at this time and then determine what would be the consequences of choosing each alternative. Having done this, evaluate the consequences and decide what you would do were you the man making the decision. The decision actually made will be revealed on the next page, but do not look at it until you have made your decision. Then compare your decision with the one actually made to try and discover what differences there might be between the way you look at things and the way European leaders in 1914 looked at things.

SECTION I

Pre-War Europe

Had you been living in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century you probably would have been optimistic about the future of mankind. The continent had not experienced a general war since 1815 and had not had any war of major significance since the Franco-Prussian War of 1871. In 1899 the leaders of Europe had come together at The Hague in the Netherlands and had discussed ways of abolishing war altogether.

Yet peaceful Europe was rife with tensions which could explode in war at any moment. The greatest of these tensions was that produced by the subject peoples of Austria-Hungary--Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Italians-- who ardently desired to be included in their own nations. The Serbs were especially impassioned about this issue. A special organization called the Narodna Odbrana was established by the Serbian government to agitate for a "greater Serbia" which would include the Serbs' captive brothers in Austria.

A second source of tension was the competition between the great powers of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary for hegemony [1] in particular areas of Europe and for colonies in other parts of the world. Much of this competition centered in the Balkan states where Austria was attempting to expand her holdings at the expense of the Turks who controlled much of the area and the little Balkan states which had become independent of Turkish control. Germany also had an interest in this area of the world. Russia considered itself the protector of the Slavic peoples of the Balkan area since they all belonged to the same language group. Russia also desired control of the straits leading from the Black Sea in order to obtain a warm water outlet for trade. The upshot of these competing desires was heightened tension in the "Balkan Tinderbox."

[1] hegemony - dominance over a group of nations

In western Europe, tensions built up between France and Great Britain on the one hand and Germany on the other. France had lost the territories of Alsace and Lorraine as a result of her defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. German control of these territories was a concrete reminder of the humiliation France had suffered. Bitter hatred of the Germans and a desire for revenge was preached in French schools, newspapers, and books. Great Britain had also grown apprehensive of Germany's increasing might. In particular Englishmen were concerned about Germany's aim to build a navy as great as Britain's and Germany's efforts to increase her colonial empire.

The great powers of Europe, fearful that these tensions might lead to war, sought security in ever bigger armies and a system of alliances. Germany and Austria developed an alliance in 1882 in which they vowed to defend each other in case of attack from either Russia or France. They later added Italy, making this the "Triple Alliance." France, fearing and hating Germany, set up an alliance with Russia, who feared and hated Austria, in 1892. Later, two agreements between Great Britain and France and Great Britain and Russia involved the island nation in the same alliance. These three powers were called the "Triple Entente."

The alliance system was designed to preserve the peace. The great powers wanted to make themselves so powerful through these alliances that no one would risk attacking them. In the early twentieth century, this system of maintaining peace was severely tested by a series of crises. In 1905 and 1911, Kaiser Wilhelm, the emperor of Germany, tried to dislodge France from dominating Morocco. On both occasions war nearly broke out, but Germany was unable to gain support from her allies because they did not feel supporting Germany was in their best interests. In 1908 and 1913 the Balkan powder keg almost blew up. In 1908, Austria annexed two provinces in the Balkans. This nearly resulted in war with Russia, but Russia backed down because she could not get support from her allies, England and France. In 1913, the little Balkan states won a war against Turkey and expanded their control over territories that Austria did not want them to have. Austria intervened in the affair, and Russia leaped to the defense of the Balkan states. Again war was narrowly averted because Russia could not get support.

In 1914, the least serious of these crises did develop into war. A young Serbian member of the Narodna Odbrana assassinated the heir to the Austrian throne. The heir was not even respected by the royal family, but still the incident developed into a general war involving nearly every European nation. How this came about is still a major mystery to historians. A careful examination of the decisions made by the great powers in the summer of 1914 may shed light on why the assassination developed into a great and terrible war.

After you have gone through the decision making process, try to answer the following questions.

1. Why did each nation make the decisions it did?
2. How did these decisions bring about the war?
3. Why is it important to know who made the decisions?

SECTION II

DECISION MAKING: 1914

The chain of events began unraveling soon after the Archduke had been shot. The question on everyone's lips was "What will Austria do about the assassination?" Austria had to decide among several alternatives.

(The following form is suggested as a means of making your decisions. First, note the alternatives open to the country as indicated below in the example, and then trace out the probable consequences.)

ALTERNATIVE	CONSEQUENCES
1. Declare war on Serbia.	Would probably bring in Russia on Serbia's side. Odds for victory about even.
2. Do nothing except perhaps send strong reprimand in note.	Austria would lose face backing down against weaker power. Would lose chance to dispense with Serbian menace once and for all.
3. Send ultimatum demanding conditions that would stop Serbian menace.	Serbia probably would not comply with conditions, but would start war, possibly bringing in Russia. Odds even for victory.
4. Declare war in the event of German support.	Would make odds better for victory but might also bring in Russia's allies.

Austria decided to first seek support from her ally before making any move against Serbia. Accordingly, an ambassador was dispatched to Berlin with a note to the German Kaiser Wilhelm from Franz Joseph, asking the German emperor's support so that "Serbia. . .(can be) eliminated as a political factor in the Balkans." The decision was now up to the Kaiser. He could either support Austria or withhold support.

WHAT ALTERNATIVE WOULD YOU CHOOSE WERE YOU THE KAISER? (follow the form of the example above in making your decision)

The Kaiser, after mulling the problem over, gave unlimited support to Austria. In fact, the German Emperor stated that he could not "interfere in the dispute now going on between Austria-Hungary and Serbia" but that "the Emperor Francis Joseph may. . .rest assured that His Majesty (the Kaiser) will faithfully stand by Austria-Hungary, as is required by the obligations of his ancient friendship." Indeed, the Kaiser did not even mention any conditions under which he would not honor his alliance but gave unqualified support whatever Austria might do.

With this reply from Germany, the Austrian Crown Council debated what to do next. One thought was to declare war immediately; another was to send Serbia an ultimatum demanding certain conditions be met or also face the march of Austrian troops. The second proposal was accepted and Austria sent Serbia an ultimatum which demanded, among other things, that the Serbian government suppress every publication which expressed hatred for Austria, particularly the Narodna Odbrana; to stop public instruction in Serbia which attacked Austria; to remove all those officers of the government named by Austria who spoke against the Empire; to agree to allow Austrian officials to take part in the suppression of anti-Austrian movements; and to allow Austrian judges to sit on Serbian courts to judge officials connected with the assassination.

The note was sent to Serbia on July 23 to accept or reject in 48 hours. Serbia, accordingly turned to Russia for advice and support. Russia had to decide whether to support the little Balkan country or not.

WHAT ALTERNATIVE WOULD YOU RECOMMEND TO THE TSAR IF YOU WERE THE RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER?

Russia decided to support Serbia, at least in principle, and advised the little country to accept all parts of the ultimatum save the two sections which would violate Serbian independence--namely the participation of Austrians in the suppression of propaganda and in the courts trying Serbian officials.

But Russia could not make a general commitment unless she had France's support, for if she had to face Germany and Austria alone she could not hope to win. Accordingly, an exchange of diplomatic correspondence took place to determine whether or not France would support her ally.

IF YOU WERE THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER, WHAT WOULD YOU DECIDE?

Events began to move more rapidly at this point. The French Foreign Minister assured Russia of his country's support on July 25. On the same day, the Serbian reply to the ultimatum was received in Vienna. The Serbs' response generally followed the Russian advice--they accepted all but the last two points in the ultimatum. Austria's response to the Serb's reply was made graphically clear when the British Ambassador to Vienna telegraphed the following note to his prime minister, Grey, in London:

"Serbian reply to the Austro-Hungarian demands is not considered satisfactory, and the Austro-Hungarian minister has left Belgrade."

War between Serbia and Austria was inevitable. What was not inevitable was that all other European nations would join in. In order to prevent this from occurring, the British Prime Minister, Lord Grey, sent out a message on July 26 to all European powers asking that they meet in London for a conference "which would prevent complications."

IF YOU WERE THE GERMAN, RUSSIAN, AND FRENCH PRIME MINISTERS, WOULD YOU ACCEPT OR REJECT THIS INVITATION? WHY?

On July 27, the responses to Grey's invitation were received in London. Germany replied that the conference would "practically amount to a court of arbitrations" which would decide the Austro-Serbian question. This Germany could not accept for it would interfere with Austria's independence. Russia replied that "the Austro-Hungarian government was determined on war, and that it is impossible for Russia to remain indifferent." Hence, Russia refused the invitation. France, alone, among the great powers willingly accepted.

On July 28, therefore, Austria declared war on Serbia and began to bombard the city of Belgrade.

On July 29, the Russian Tsar ordered general mobilization of the Russian troops--which meant mobilization against Germany as well as against Austria. At this point, Kaiser Wilhelm sent a note to Austria stating that he saw no reason why Austria could not accept the Serbian reply to the ultimatum. But it was too late to stop Austrian troops. At the same time, the Kaiser telegraphed the Tsar, who was his cousin, asking that Russia consider negotiating with Austria on the Serbian matter.

IF YOU WERE THE TSAR, HOW WOULD YOU REPLY TO THIS TELEGRAM?

The Tsar replied that "an ignoble war has been declared on a weak country. . . .I beg you in the name of our friendship to do what you can to stop your ally from going too far." The Kaiser then sent back another telegram stating "I cannot consider Austria's action against Serbia an ignoble war. . . .I think a direct understanding between your government and Vienna possible. My government is continuing exertions to promote it. Of course, military measures on the part of Russia. . .would precipitate a calamity which we both wish to avoid."

It was apparent that the two cousins could not agree to keep each other out of the conflict. The question now was whether or not the conflict could be isolated to Eastern Europe. Germany accordingly asked France whether or not she would stay neutral in the war, since, if France did not decide to remain uncommitted the German battle plan called for an attack on France first. France, of course, did not know that this was the reason why her neutrality was crucial to Germany. Nonetheless, she was faced with the decision of whether or not to get in or stay out.

IF YOU WERE THE FRENCH PRIME MINISTER, WHAT WOULD YOU DECIDE?

France's reply to Germany was that she would "do that which her interests dictated." What those interests were was indicated by a note to the Russian Prime Minister on the same day (August 1) that France would "act in concert with Russia." The Germans took the French reply to mean exactly that and at 7:00 on August 1 declared war on Russia, and began mobilizing her troops against France. On August 2, Germany invaded Belgium to attack France, and this brought England into the war, for it was a cardinal principle of English foreign policy that Belgium should always remain neutral in order that no powerful country was across the English Channel.

One month and five days after the unfortunate heir to the Austrian throne was assassinated, therefore, all Europe was at war.

READING LIII

TREATY OF VERSAILLES: TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE

When the First World War ended in 1918, the kings' men of Europe had to put Humpty-Dumpty back together again. The war had been so terrible that western leaders were bound and determined that the "Great War," as they called it, would never be repeated. The goal was clear, but the methods of accomplishing it were hotly debated.

Nearly all European leaders had their own program for achieving lasting peace. This reading concentrates on only two of those programs--those of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, and Georges Clemenceau, Premier of France. Both were at the Paris Peace Conference which drafted the Treaty of Versailles, and both were members of the "Big Three" (England, France, and the United States) who determined what kind of a treaty it would be. Following these two ideas are sections of the treaty itself which indicate what the leaders at Paris finally decided.

As you read, keep in mind the following questions:

1. What assumptions does each have about the cause of the First World War? Which of them do you think is more correct?

2. In what ways would each of the men attempt to preserve the peace? How are these ideas related to the causes of the war?

3. Which of the two leaders' ideas is most embodied in the Versailles Treaty? Why do you think his ideas prevailed over the other?

CLEMENCEAU'S PROPOSAL *

* From Alexander Baltzy and A. William Salomone, READINGS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY EUROPEAN HISTORY, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950) 87-88.

This selection comes from Clemenceau's reply to the British memorandum concerning the territorial adjustments in Europe. In the note, Clemenceau states that the French must be given adequate guarantees against further German invasion, and that this means reducing the territory of Germans.

WILSON'S PROPOSAL *

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secure once and for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme: and as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrive at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

* Congressional Record, 65th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 680-681.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves of its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act, the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into..

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An Independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike. . . .

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole programme I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand.

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES *

Article 42. Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometers to the East of the Rhine. . . .

Article 45. As compensation for the destruction of the coal-mines in the north of France and as part payment towards the total reparation due from Germany for the damage resulting from the war, Germany cedes to France in full and absolute possession, with exclusive rights of exploitation, unencumbered and free from all debts and charges of any kind, the coal-mines situated in the Saar Basin. . . .

Article 49. Germany renounces in favour of the League of Nations, in the capacity of trustee, the government of the territory defined above.

At the end of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present Treaty the inhabitants of said territory shall be called upon to indicate the sovereignty under which they desire to be placed. . . .

(Article 51, preface.) The High Contracting Parties, recognizing the moral obligation to redress the wrong done by Germany in 1871 both to the rights of France and to the wishes of the population of Alsace and Lorraine, which were separated from their country in spite of the solemn protest of their representatives at the Assembly of Bordeaux, agree upon the following Articles.

Article 51. The territories which were ceded to Germany in accordance with the Preliminaries of Peace signed at Versailles on February 26, 1871, and the Treaty of Frankfort of May 10, 1871, are restored to French sovereignty as from the date of the armistice of November 11, 1918.

The provisions of the Treaties establishing the delimitation of the frontiers before 1871 shall be restored. . . .

Article 80. Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria, within the frontiers which may be fixed in a Treaty between that State and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers; she agrees that this independence shall be inalienable, except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

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* THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES AND AFTER, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1947.

Article 81. Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognizes the complete independence of the Czecho-Slovak State which will include the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians. Germany hereby recognizes the frontiers of this State as determined by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and the other interested states. . . .

Article 87. Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognizes the complete independence of Poland. . . .

Article 89. Poland undertakes to accord freedom of transit to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails in transit between East Prussia and the rest of Germany over Polish territory. . . .

Article 119. Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her oversea possessions. . . .

Article 159. The German military forces shall be demobilized and reduced as prescribed hereinafter.

Article 160. By a date which must not be later than March 31, 1920, the German Army must not comprise more than seven divisions of infantry and three divisions of cavalry.

After that date the total number of effectives in the Army of the States constituting Germany must not exceed one hundred thousand men, including officers and establishments of depots. The Army shall be devoted exclusively to the maintenance of order within the territory and to the control of the frontiers.

The total effective strength of officers, including the personnel of staffs, whatever their composition, must not exceed four thousand. . . .

Article 198. The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces. . . .

Article 231. The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her Allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

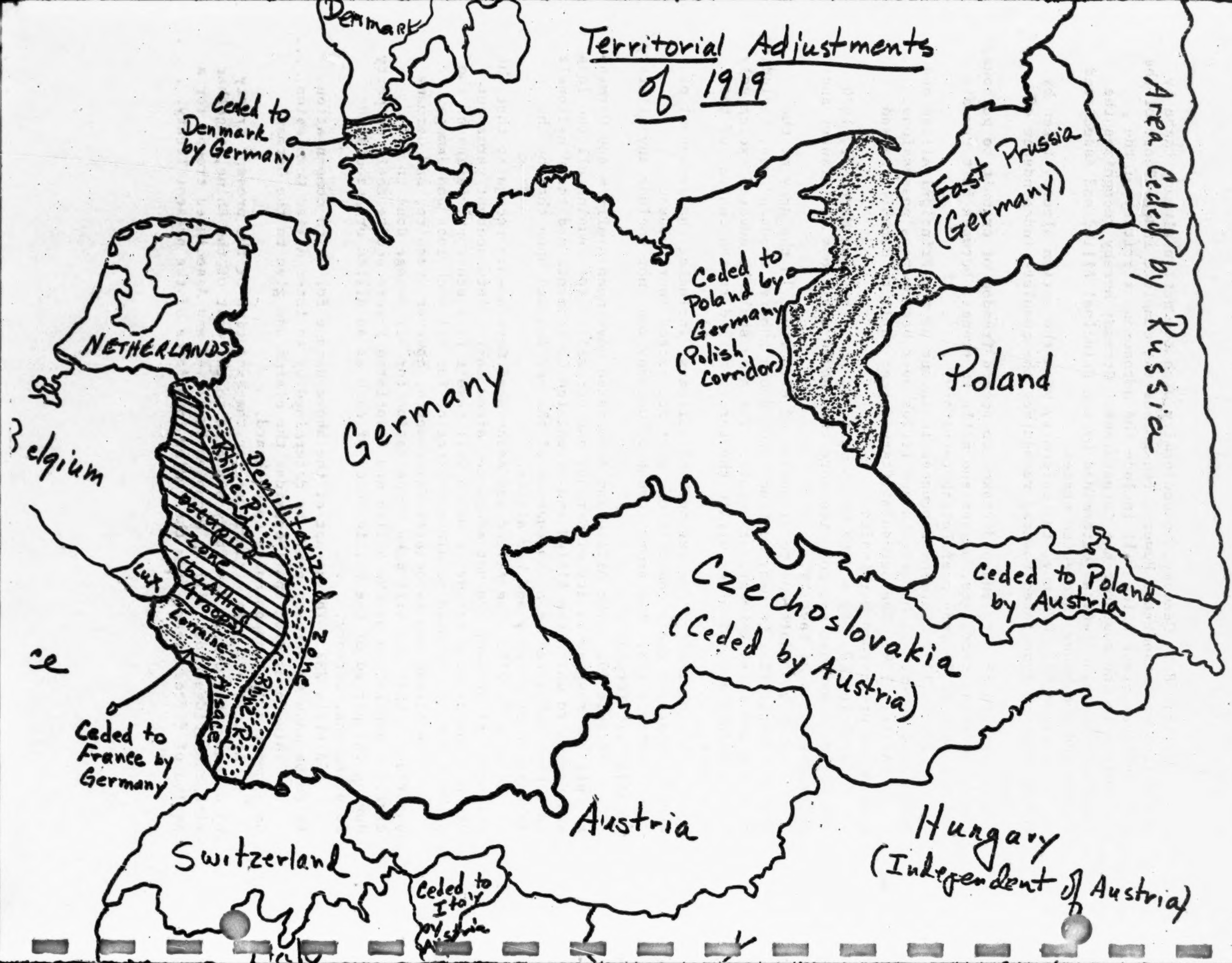
Article 232. The Allied and Associated Governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of the present Treaty, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage.

The Allied and Associated Governments, however, require, and Germany undertakes, that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an Allied or Associated Power against Germany. . . .

Article 233. The amount of the above damage for which compensation is to be made by Germany shall be determined by an inter-Allied Commission. ...

This Commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity to be heard.

Article 428. As a guarantee for the execution of the present Treaty by Germany, the German territory situated to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by Allied and Associated troops for a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present Treaty. . . .



Territorial Adjustments of 1919

Denmark
Ceded to Denmark by Germany
East Prussia (Germany)
Area Ceded by Russia
Ceded to Poland by Germany (Polish corridor)
Poland
NETHERLANDS
Germany
Belgium
Demilitarized Zone
Rhine R.
Occupied Zone (by Allied Troops)
Lux
Lorraine
Alsace
Rhine R.
Ceded to France by Germany
Czechoslovakia (Ceded by Austria)
Ceded to Poland by Austria
Austria
Hungary (Independent of Austria)
Switzerland
Ceded to Italy by Austria
Italy

READING LIV

BALANCE OF POWER AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SINCE 1815

Three great wars have fatefully influenced the course of international relations during the past two hundred years. The first of these wars lasted for a generation and was essentially a series of coalitions against France following the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 and the subsequent dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte. The second lasted for four years (1914-1918) and has become known as the World War since most of the nations of the world eventually became involved. The third, the Second World War (1939-1945) came by its title even more rightfully since it was a truly global struggle in which the fighting stretched from the Aleutian Islands of Alaska to the deserts of Africa and from the British Isles to Australia.

Each of these struggles was on a grand scale. Each required the formation of an alliance composed of many nations to defeat a powerful opponent. Each was, in part, an ideological struggle between authoritarian and liberal forces. Yet, at the same time, each was fundamentally an attempt to maintain the balance of power and prevent power from being monopolized by any one nation quite apart from ideological considerations. In each case the aggressor--Napoleon, the Kaiser, Hitler--was defeated. The policies followed to preserve the hard-won peace were, however, very different. The defeat of Napoleon was followed by a century of balance of power politics; the defeat of Imperial Germany, on the contrary, introduced the new concept of collective security to the world. We live ourselves in the wake of the defeat of Nazism. What are the principles of international relations today? A review of the policies followed after the first two wars is indispensible if we are to attempt to answer that question.

Napoleon had succeeded in subduing most of Europe by following an ancient and simple maxim: divide and conquer. This is still the most effective way to victory by those who plan aggression. Not until 1813, after Napoleon's disastrous campaign in Russia, did the great nations of Europe finally unite against him. Previously each had pursued his own interests at the expense of the interests of other nations. The perils of this kind of foreign policy were brought home to the allies when, having defeated the French, they began to squabble about the spoils of war. Napoleon immediately made use of the opportunity to escape from his exile on the island of Elba and return to France. Only by hastily patching up their differences in the face of this threat were the allies able to defeat the French Emperor conclusively at Waterloo in June 1815.

This experience made the need for a united front against aggression abundantly clear. Just as clear was the fact that general agreement had to be achieved among the Great Powers if peace were to be preserved in the future. The diplomats who met at the peace conference in Vienna, however, were caught in a dilemma which faces all makers of policy: how does one safeguard the essential interests of one's own country without disturbing the vital interests of another?

This dilemma generated great difficulty at Vienna. Tsar Alexander I of Russia correctly believed that his armies had played the key role in defeating Napoleon. He posed as the liberator of Europe and at the same time realistically demanded payment for his military efforts by the annexation of Poland. Russian expansion alarmed Great Britain. This was the period of rapid economic growth in England. Russian power in Central Europe and the Mediterranean directly challenged her commercial interests and her lines of communication with India. Russia was supported at the Congress by Prussia who wished to become the dominant power in Germany. Prussia was willing, for example, to give to Russia certain Prussian territories inhabited by Poles in return for the right to annex the German-speaking Kingdom of Saxony which lay between her and Austria. The addition of Saxony would create a solid central German state.

The interests of the fourth Great Power, Austria, were opposed to both Russian and Prussian objectives. As Prince Metternich, the long-time foreign minister put it, nothing could be gained by replacing the "colossus of the West" by the "colossus of the East"--that is, for Russia to take the place of France. Austria was located in the middle of Europe and was always directly threatened when any of the other continental nations became too powerful. Metternich, therefore, opposed the ambitions of Tsar Alexander and set himself against the forces of nationalism in Germany (and Italy) which would have resulted in the creation of a strong German (and Italian) state. Austria's central position made a policy of balance of power extremely sensible; Metternich accordingly made use of all his powers of persuasion to achieve it. He made common cause with the British even though parliamentary government was detested by the autocratic Austrians. He insisted that France, in spite of the history of the last decades, be given her rightful place as one of the European "Great Powers."

The decisions at Vienna, then, were largely in conformity with the interests of Austria and Great Britain. Russia received only part of Poland; a national Germany was not set up; France was treated as an equal and not a scapegoat. The principle of nationality was disregarded: Austria, for example, added Italians and more Slavs to her already diverse population. Prussia did not get all of Saxony but was given the Rhineland instead. This served the dual purpose of preventing a strengthening of her core territory and at the same time erecting a barrier to possible future French attempts at expansion. Metternich used the deep fear of revolution which was probably the strongest common factor among the powers assembled at Vienna to divert Russian and Prussian hostility and to counteract the influence of Great Britain.

The peace settlement was based on three leading principles: legitimacy, that is a return to past conditions wherever possible; compensation, or what we have described as a balance of power, by which each nation received some reward for its effort in the common cause; conservatism, which signified opposition to liberalism, nationalism and change in general. In order to preserve the status quo in the years to come a most valuable (and revolutionary, if such a term may be associated with the Congress of Vienna!) decision was made: the Powers agreed to meet periodically to review the state of affairs in Europe. Thus was born the Concert of Europe, the first rudimentary collective security organization.

In one way the Vienna peace settlement was gratifyingly successful: Europe avoided another general war for a whole century. This was primarily so, however, not because of collective security but because no one nation was strong enough, or believed itself strong enough, to upset the balance of power. The conferences which for a while met almost every year to examine controversial political questions soon broke down on the liberal-conservative issue. As the kingdoms of Central and Eastern Europe intensified their demands for their own nation, Great Britain, and later France, recognized that social and political change was inevitable and must be accommodated rather than repressed. These differences notwithstanding, general balance among the nations of Europe remained. What wars there were, were waged on a limited scale: Britain and France refusing to permit Russian expansion into the Balkan area and the Mediterranean (Crimean War 1854); France attacking Austria in the name of Italian unity (1859); Prussia following suit to create a German state and fighting first Austria (1866) and then France (1870).

Even the emergence of Germany as the most powerful European state did not destroy the balance of power. The German leader, Otto von Bismarck, was as strong a supporter of the Concert of Europe as were the men of Vienna. Bismarck was lenient with Austria after its defeat. He could have added the German-speaking Austrians to the new Empire but preferred to preserve Austria as a bulwark against Russia. He pursued conservative policies which were approved by Russia on the one hand, while keeping on the best of relations with Great Britain by not interfering in matters vital to the English. Meanwhile he encouraged the French to expand their colonial interests in areas where they would be sure to antagonize the British and Italians. To further preserve the balance of Europe Bismarck made a number of defensive alliances whose purpose it was to prevent a possible French-dominated alliance against Germany to recover the losses suffered in 1870.

All this obviously shifted the balance of power in Germany's favor. Eventually, however, the French were able to build up an alliance system of their own. By 1914 France, Russia and Great Britain faced Germany, Austria and Italy. The balance of power which had worked effectively for a hundred years had become so precariously matched that a slight event was sufficient to tumble the world into catastrophe. Moreover, perhaps the most significant aspect of the First World War was the fact that the Great Powers of Europe proved unable to end the fighting by themselves either by military victory or negotiation and had to depend on an outsider, the United States, to bring it to a conclusion. When the war was over, Europe had lost the leadership of the world which she had held for several hundred years. In the final test--in the War that the policy was supposed to avoid--balance of power politics had been found wanting.

Or so at least it appeared to President Woodrow Wilson of the United States, now the most powerful nation in the world. Wilson was the foremost spokesman for a new principle of international relations under which the nations of the world would league together to guarantee peace in the future. The President really conceived of a "Concert of the World," which he called the League of

Nations, to which all peace-loving nations would belong and take common action against aggression. The central idea of collective security is that aggressive war is a crime against all mankind and that it is therefore the duty of all states to join together in preventing it. The fact that the great majority of states would be pledged to act in this way would serve to make any would-be aggressor think twice before he acted. Collective security, therefore, goes beyond the special interests of individual states; it depends heavily on the weight of world public opinion to prevent armed action.

The Covenant (Charter) of the League of Nations became the first section of the peace treaty with Germany. The Covenant was long and detailed, but there were certain key provisions. Each member undertook to respect the independence of all the others and join in preserving them against aggression. All bound themselves to submit serious disputes to peaceful settlement and in no case to resort to war until the actions of the League had had time to work out such a settlement. All members promised to join in common action against any nation which went to war in violation of these promises. This action was to take the form first of economic sanctions (the breaking off of commercial relations) and finally, if this did not work, of military force.

In theory the principle of collective security offered an effective means of avoiding war; in practice it did not work very well. There were several reasons for this, principally the fact that the nations of the world were not yet ready to abandon their special interests in the name of a world community. There is no better proof of this than the United States itself. The American Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles because it contained the League Covenant. The Senate opposed the Covenant on the grounds that American independence would be affected by League membership; the situation could arise in which the United States might have to take action contrary to its national interests simply because a majority of the League members had voted in a certain way.

No other nation really championed the cause of collective security. France had accepted the League only because of the insistence of President Wilson (and the overwhelming power of the United States at the end of the war.) French statesmen were convinced that balance of power was a more realistic way of preserving the peace, and they soon established a new system of alliances aimed at isolating Germany. Great Britain, for its part, was no more anxious to prejudice its power of independent action than was the United States. Both Great Britain and France paid lip service to League principles, but in matters in which their special interests were concerned, they preferred to follow their own convictions.

The League, therefore, operated under certain disadvantages. In the first place it was based on a misapprehension. It was really not a closely-knit organism with a common goal but rather a group of nations who worked together only to the extent that League objectives served their own purposes. In the second place, even if these nations agreed on a common objective, the League scarcely represented the power of the world, a basic assumption underlying the principle of collective security. In addition to the United States, neither Soviet Russia nor Germany, the potentially most powerful European states, were members. And, finally, the Covenant of the League suffered under the grave disadvantage of being part of the harsh Treaty of Versailles. When League members spoke of preserving the peace they meant the peace established by that treaty which in contrast to the Treaty of Vienna did not attempt to compromise among victors and vanquished. Thus many important countries found it difficult to view the League of Nations as the instrument of impartial justice for which it was intended but rather as a special weapon to preserve existing conditions.

In spite of these disadvantages the League functioned relatively well in the first decade of its existence. Unfortunately the reasons for its success were more negative than positive. A power vacuum existed in the world: the United States refused to accept the responsibility of leadership which its new power brought with it and remained stubbornly aloof from world affairs; Russia wrestled with the internal problems of establishing Communism; Germany was rocked by the economic and political consequences of the war. What disputes arose were minor and rapidly settled. As soon as the League challenged the actions of a major power, as it did in the case of Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931, its inability to muzzle aggression effectively was quickly apparent. Despite League censure, Japan proceeded to occupy the huge Chinese province and set it up as a puppet state.

The lesson of Manchuria was not lost on the aggressors. In the following years the Italian dictator Mussolini conquered the helpless African kingdom Ethiopia without effective opposition from the League. The German dictator Hitler broke the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles one by one and finally annexed Austria and portions of Czechoslovakia to Germany. The League remained ineffectual. This does not mean that the principles of collective security were unworkable; it simply points out that they were unrealistic at the time. Collective security rests on the ultimate willingness to use force to counter aggression. This willingness did not exist in the 1930's. These were the years following the great economic depression, and the average citizen was more interested in lowering taxes and gaining increased social welfare benefits than in making personal sacrifices and perhaps even having to fight for distant causes in distant parts of the world. Public opinion in the democracies considered that the League could stop aggression without understanding that the League had no forces of its own to do it, but had to rely on the armies and navies of Great Britain and France. And this the democratic voters made clear in election after election they did not want to do. They did not want their country to go to war. For most people the concept of collective security remained misleading. While it seemed to promise peace without fighting, it really said that peace was so precious that all nations had to be willing to fight for it, that the common goal was greater than the individual interest, and in fact that the best interests of the individual were part of a greater common goal. Whether this is true or not remained an open question. At any rate it was not understood in the 1930's, and it is probable that it is not understood today.

The aggressions of Hitler eventually drove the democracies to war, not out of a sense of collective security but because their special interests were being challenged to the point where they must either fight or be destroyed. The alliance forged against the Nazis was composed of a curious assortment of states whose chief bond was their need to defeat Hitler. Their objective accomplished, the divergency of their objectives quickly appeared. Soviet Russia wanted security from attack, security to be gained by adding territory to the homeland and occupying large areas of Europe. She also wanted to spread communist ideas wherever possible to hasten the inevitable Marxist victory. The United States believed that the time had finally come when democracy could be established all over the world. There was little doubt in American minds that, given a free choice, men would hasten to adopt the benefits of the democratic way of life. Great Britain, on the other hand, shattered by two devastating wars in thirty years, wanted only to preserve what assets of the past were left her.

Russia wanted a dominant voice in world affairs. The United States sought to strengthen the brotherhood of man. Britain desired the establishment of some sort of balance to offset the two giant powers which had emerged to dominate the world. Each found a partial answer to its objectives in the United Nations Organization which was formed in 1945 to take the place of the defunct League of Nations. The drafters of the UN tried to be more realistic than their predecessors had been. The recognized that some nations are more powerful than others. Five such nations--the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France and Nationalist China (now relegated to the island of Taiwan)--were given veto power over issues which would affect their national interests adversely. The drafters fulfilled the need for teeth to back up collective security by authorizing the calling of a UN force for such purpose. They acknowledged that a "United Nations" must be composed of all nations by gradually admitting almost every country in the world to membership. And yet, in spite of these improvements, it is doubtful whether collective security has worked much more effectively in the twenty years following the Second World War than it did in a similar time period following the first.

The difficulty seems to be that the basic interests of the United States and Russia are so deeply opposed that it is impossible for the two to work toward common objectives through means of collective security. The single exception is a common dread of the consequences of nuclear warfare. We live, accordingly, in an era in which foreign policy is conducted by alternating doses of collective security and balance of power politics. United Nations action is applied effectively in cases in which the United States and Soviet Russia wish to avoid personal involvement, chiefly because the settlement of the issue by a third party is in the mutual interest of both. Examples of this are the UN intervention in the Suez crisis in 1956 and in the Congo in 1960. But in most cases the danger of nuclear destruction is so appalling that the two Great Powers prefer to keep the power of decision in their own hands. While exploiting the potentials of the United Nations to the utmost, they have instituted what is in effect a balance of power balance, organizing bands of allies, drawing lines denoting special interests and being ready to compromise delicate issues in the hope of maintaining peace.

UNIT XIV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOTALITARIANISM IN RUSSIA

Stating the Issue

Most of the forces that had slowly transformed Europe--the Renaissance, the development of parliamentary institutions, the growth of the market economy, the revolution in scientific thought, the democratic revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth century--passed Russia by. Russia was the easternmost outpost of western civilization; she had absorbed relatively few of the changes that had modernized other European nations.

As a result, Russia was out of place in twentieth century Europe. Her government was old-fashioned and inefficient. It was headed by a Tsar and a bureaucracy which preferred to retain traditional patterns of government rather than share their power with others. Her economy remained primarily agricultural. Although industry began to grow more rapidly after 1890, it could not produce the heavy industrial goods essential to a modern nation. Finally, her social structure remained rigid and unbalanced. Essentially unchanged for centuries, it had more in common with the West of 1600 than of 1900.

The First World War dealt the death blow to this weakened old regime. When the giant Russian army suffered defeat after defeat, Russians realized that the Tsar's government could not even defend the country. A year of revolution in 1917 demolished the old society. With the triumph of the Russian Bolsheviks in October of that year, a concerted effort was begun to bring Russia into the twentieth century by totalitarian methods. The government, the economy, and the social structure were all to be modernized by force.

Russia's totalitarian regime is based on the communist principles of Karl Marx. The Bolsheviks believe that there must be no private property nor class distinctions in a twentieth century nation. They believe that a "dictatorship of the proletariat," as conceived by Marx, will be necessary to achieve these ends.

But Russia's totalitarian regime has its roots in the history of Tsarist Russia, as well. No matter how hard they try, the Communists cannot completely throw off the centuries of tradition that preceded their seizure of power. In fact, the values and the practices of the old regime support the new one.

Unit XIV investigates the roots of totalitarianism in Russia. As you study the evidence in the following pages, ask yourself, "What aspects of Tsarist Russia have the Communists absorbed in their regime?" "How have the ideas of Marx, Lenin and other Communists shaped the decisions of the totalitarian state?" "To what extent have the Communists succeeded in changing Russian society?"

READING LV

THE ROOTS OF TOTALITARIANISM--IMPERIAL RUSSIA

Imperial Russia was the last outpost of the medieval world. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, a titled nobility controlled nearly all the land and the lives of millions of serfs. Even when the serfs were freed in 1861, the privileges of rank still divided Russian society between a very rich aristocracy and a very poor peasant class. Only a tiny middle class had developed to press for reforms in government and the market place. Russia was still ruled by an autocratic Tsar and her economy still was based on the agriculture of the manor. The Tsar's decisions, even when he tried to reform the social, political, or economic system of the country, were usually designed to keep things the way they had always been.

The Communists seized power in 1917 to wipe out this past and to accelerate the development of a more modern society in Russia. But like all regimes, the Communists have found that they cannot ignore the past altogether. The establishment of a communist state in Russia has been conditioned by the peculiar legacy of Imperial Russia. Russia's totalitarian state is different from other totalitarianisms chiefly because Russia's history is so different.

What was Imperial Russia like? An Englishman named David Mackenzie Wallace made several long trips to Tsarist Russia in the late nineteenth century. From his journal it is possible to develop a vivid picture of Russia in the time of the Tsars. Such a picture will help us to understand the nature of the modern Russian political and economic systems. As you read these selections from Wallace's journal, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What were the values of nineteenth century Russians as revealed in Russian family life?
2. What was the nature of Russian autocracy? How did it resemble or differ from the autocracy of Louis XIV? How does it resemble or differ from modern totalitarianisms?
3. How was the Russian economy organized? Who made the decisions? What factors governed economic decision-making?

AN ENGLISHMAN'S VIEW OF NINETEENTH CENTURY RUSSIA*

Ivan's household was a good specimen of the Russian peasant family of the old type. Previous to the Emancipation in 1861, there were many households of this kind, containing the representatives of three generations. All the members, young and old, lived together in patriarchal fashion under the direction and authority of the Head of the House, called usually Khozaín, that is to say, the Administrator; or, in some districts, Bolshák, which means literally "the Big One." Generally speaking, this important position was occupied by the grandfather, or, if he was dead, by the eldest brother, but this rule was not very strictly observed. If, for instance, the grandfather became infirm, or if the eldest brother was incapacitated by disorderly habits or other cause, the place of authority was taken by some other member--it might be by a woman--who was a good manager, and possessed the greatest moral influence. . . .

The House, with its appurtenances, the cattle, the agricultural implements, the grain and other products, the money gained from the sale of these products--in a word, the house and nearly everything it contained--was the joint-property of the family. Hence, nothing was bought or sold by any member--not even by the Big One himself, unless he possessed an unusual amount of authority--without the express or tacit consent of the other grown-up males, and all the money that was earned was put into the common purse. When one of the sons left home to work elsewhere, he was expected to bring or send home all his earnings, except what he required for food, lodgings, and other necessary expenses; and if he understood the word "necessary" in too lax a sense, he had to listen to very plain-spoken reproaches when he returned. During his absence, which might last for a whole year or several years, his wife and children remained in the house as before, and the money which he earned was probably devoted to the payment of the family taxes.

The peasant household of the old type is thus a primitive labor association, of which the members have all things in common, and it is not a little remarkable that the peasant conceives it as such rather than as a family. This is shown by the customary terminology and by the law of inheritance. The Head of the Household is not called by any word corresponding to Paterfamilias, but is termed, as I have said, Khozain, or Administrator-- a word that is applied equally to a farmer, a shopkeeper, or the head of an industrial undertaking, and does not at all convey the idea of blood-relationship. . . .

Ivanófka may be taken as a fair specimen of the villages in the northern half of the country, and a brief description of its inhabitants will convey a tolerably correct notion of the northern peasantry in general.

* From Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, RUSSIA, (London, 1877), 88-208 passim.

Nearly the whole of the female population, and about one-half of the male inhabitants, are habitually engaged in cultivating the Communal land, which comprises about two thousand acres of a light sandy soil. The arable part of this land is divided into three large fields, each of which is cut up into long narrow strips. The first field is reserved for the winter grain--that is to say, rye, which forms, in the shape of black bread, the principal food of the peasantry. In the second are raised oats for the horses, and buckwheat, which is largely used for food. The third lies fallow, and is used in the summer as pasturage for the cattle.

All the villagers in this part of the country divide the arable land in this way, in order to suit the triennial rotation of crops. This triennial system is extremely simple. The field which is used this year for raising winter grain will be used next year for raising summer grain, and in the following year will lie fallow. Before being sown with winter grain it ought to receive a certain amount of manure. Every family possesses in each of the two fields under cultivation one or more of the long, narrow strips or belts into which they are divided. . . .

On St. George's Day (April 23rd), the cattle are brought out for the first time and sprinkled with holy water by the priest. The cattle of the Russian peasantry are never very fat, but at this period of the year their appearance is truly lamentable. During the winter they have been cooped up in small unventilated cow-houses, and fed almost exclusively on straw; now, when they are released from their imprisonment, they look like the ghosts of their former emaciated selves. All are lean and weak, many are lame, and some cannot rise to their feet without assistance.

Meanwhile the peasants are impatient to begin the field labor. An old proverb which they all know says: "Sow in mud and you will be a prince;" and they always act in accordance with this dictate of traditional wisdom. As soon as it is possible to plow they begin to prepare the land for the summer grain, and this labor occupies them probably till the end of May. Then comes the work of carting out manure and preparing the fallow field for the winter grain, which will last probably till about St. Peter's Day (June 29th), when the hay-making generally begins. After the hay-making comes the harvest, by far the busiest time of the year. From the middle of July--especially from St. Elijah's Day (July 20th), when the saint is usually heard rumbling along the heavens in his chariot of fire--until the end of August, the peasant may work day and night, and yet he will find that he has barely time to get all his work done. In little more than a month he has to reap and stack his grain--rye, oats, and whatever else he may have sown either in spring or in the preceding autumn--and to sow the winter grain for next year. To add to his troubles, it sometimes happens that the rye and the oats ripen almost simultaneously, and his position is then still more difficult than usual. . . .

The peasant family of the old type is, as we have just seen, a kind of primitive association, in which the members have nearly all things in common. The village may be roughly described as a primitive association on a larger scale.

Between these two social units there are many points of analogy. In both there is a principal personage, who is in a certain sense ruler within, and representative as regards the outside world: in the one case called Khozain, or Head of the Household, and in the other Starosta, or Village Elder. In both the authority of the ruler is limited; in the one case by the adult members of the family, and in the other by the heads of households. In both there is a certain amount of common property: in the one case the house and nearly all that it contains, and in the other the arable land and pasturage. In both cases there is a certain amount of common responsibility: in the one case for all of the debts, and in the other for all the taxes and Communal obligations. And both are protected to a certain extent against the ordinary legal consequences of insolvency, for the family cannot be deprived of its house or necessary agricultural implements, and the Commune cannot be deprived of its land, by importunate creditors.

On the other hand, there are many important points of contrast. The Commune is, of course, much larger than the family, and the mutual relations of its members are by no means so closely interwoven. The members of a family all farm together, and those of them who earn money from other sources are expected to put their savings into the common purse; whilst the households composing a Commune farm independently, and pay into the common treasury only a certain fixed sum.

From these brief remarks the reader will at once perceive that a Russian village is something very different from a village in our sense of the term, and that the villagers are bound together by ties quite unknown to the English rural population. A family living in an English village has little reason to take an interest in the affairs of its neighbors. The isolation of the individual families may not be quite perfect, for man, being a social animal, takes, and ought to take, a certain interest in the affairs of those around him, and this social duty is sometimes fulfilled by the weaker sex with more zeal than is absolutely indispensable for the public welfare; but families may live for many years in the same village without ever becoming conscious of common interests. So long as the Jones family do not commit any culpable breach of public order, such as putting obstructions on the highway or habitually setting their house on fire, their neighbor Brown takes probably no interest in their affairs, and has no ground for interfering with their perfect liberty of action. Jones may be a drunkard and hopelessly insolvent, and he may some night decamp clandestinely with his whole family and never more be heard of; but all these things do not affect the interests of Brown, unless he has been imprudent enough to entertain with the delinquent more than simply neighborly relations. Now, amongst the families composing a Russian village, such a state of isolation is impossible. The Heads of Households must often meet together and consult in the Village Assembly, and their daily occupations must be influenced by the Communal decrees. They cannot begin to mow the hay or plow the fallow field until the Village Assembly has passed a resolution on the subject. If a peasant becomes a drunkard, or takes some equally efficient means to become insolvent, every family in the village has a right to complain, not merely in the interests of public morality, but from selfish motives, because all the families are collectively responsible for his taxes. For the same reason no peasant can permanently leave the village without the consent of the Commune, and this consent will not be granted if all his actual and future liabilities are not met. If a peasant wishes to go away for a short time, in order to work elsewhere, he must obtain a written permission, which serves him as a passport during his absence; and he may be recalled at any moment by a Communal decree. In reality he is rarely recalled so long as he sends home regularly the full amount of his taxes--including the dues which he has to pay for the temporary passport--but sometimes the Commune uses the power of recall for the purpose of [extorting money from the absent member]. . . .

In order to understand the Russian village system, the reader must bear in mind these two important facts: the arable land and the pasturage belong not to the individual houses, but to the Commune, and all the households are collectively and individually responsible for the entire sum which the Commune has to pay annually into the Imperial Treasury. ...

In its present form the Russian administration seems at first sight a very imposing edifice. At the top of the pyramid stands the Emperor, "the autocratic monarch," as Peter the Great described him, "who has to give an account of his acts to no one on earth, but has a power and authority to rule his states and lands as a Christian sovereign according to his own will and judgment." Immediately below the Emperor we see the Council of State, the Committee of Ministers, and the Senate, which represent respectively the legislative, the administrative, and the judicial power. An Englishman glancing over the first volume of the Code might imagine that the Council of State is a kind of parliament, and the Committee of Ministers a ministry in our sense of the term, but in reality both institutions are simply incarnations of the autocratic power. Though the Council is intrusted by law with many important functions--such as examining and criticising the annual budget, declaring war, concluding peace, and performing other important duties--it has merely a consultative character, and the Emperor is not in any way bound by its decisions. The Committee is not at all a ministry as we understand the word. The ministers are all directly and individually responsible to the Emperor, and therefore the Committee has no common responsibility or other cohesive force. As to the Senate, it has descended from its high estate. It was originally intrusted with the supreme power during the absence or minority of the monarch, and was intended to exercise a controlling influence in all sections of the administration, but now its activity is restricted to judicial matters, and it is little more than a supreme court of appeal. ...

Over each province is placed a Governor, who is assisted in his duties by a Vice-Governor and a small council. According to the legislation of Catherine II, which still appears in the Code and has only been partially repealed, the Governor is termed "the steward of the province," and is intrusted with so many and such delicate duties, that in order to obtain men qualified for the post, it would be necessary to realize the great Empress's design of creating, by education, "a new race of people." Down to very recent times the Governors understood the term "stewards" in a very literal sense, and ruled in a most arbitrary, high-handed style, often exercising an important influence on the civil and criminal tribunals. These extensive and vaguely-defined powers have now been very much curtailed, partly by positive legislation, and partly by increased publicity and improved means of communication. . . .

Independent of the Governor, who is the local representative of the Ministry of the Interior, are a number of resident officials, who represent the other ministries, and each of them has a bureau, with the requisite number of assistants, secretaries, and scribes. . . .

. . .When we examine the complicated formalities and labryrinthine procedure by which the administration is controlled, our first impression is that administrative abuses must be almost impossible. Every possible act of every official seems to have been foreseen, and every possible outlet from the narrow path of honesty seems to have been carefully walled up. As the English reader has probably no conception of formal procedure in a highly centralized bureaucracy, let me give an instance by way of illustration.

In the residence of a Governor-General one of the stoves is in need of repairs. An ordinary mortal may assume that a man with the rank of Governor-General may be trusted to expend a few shillings conscientiously, and that consequently his Excellency will at once order the repairs to be made and the payment to be put down among the petty expenses. To the bureaucratic mind the case appears in a very different light. All possible contingencies must be carefully provided for. As a Governor-General may possibly be possessed with a mania for making useless alterations, the necessity of the repairs ought to be verified; and as wisdom and honesty are more likely to reside in an assembly than in an individual, it is well to intrust the verification to a council. A council of three or four members accordingly certifies that the repairs are necessary. This is pretty strong authority, but it is not enough. Councils are composed of mere human beings, liable to error and subject to be intimidated by the Governor-General. It is prudent, therefore, to demand that the decision of the council be confirmed by the Procureur, who is directly subordinated to the Minister of Justice. When this double confirmation has been obtained, an architect examines the stove, and makes an estimate. But it would be dangerous to give carte blanche to an architect, and therefore the estimate has to be confirmed, first by the aforesaid council and afterwards by the Procureur. When all these formalities--which require sixteen days and ten sheets of paper--have been duly observed, his Excellency is informed that the contemplated repairs will cost two roubles and forty kopeks, or about five shillings of our money. Even here the formalities do not stop, for the Government must have the assurance that the architect who made the estimate and superintended the repairs has not been guilty of negligence. A second architect is therefore sent to examine the work, and his report, like the estimate, requires to be confirmed by the council and the Procureur. The whole correspondence lasts thirty days, and requires no less than thirty sheets of paper! Had the person who desired the repairs been not a Governor-General but an ordinary mortal, it is impossible to say how long the procedure might have lasted. ...

READING LVI

THE ROOTS OF TOTALITARIANISM--COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

On the night of April 15, 1917, a sealed train sped on its way from Switzerland to Petrograd, the capital of Russia, carrying the prophet of the Communist Revolution, Nikolai Lenin. The Germans had dispatched Lenin to bring even greater confusion to their Russian enemies who were caught up in the chaos of revolution. Only a month before a revolution had toppled the old Tsarist regime and had established a parliamentary government. The new government inherited the difficulties of fighting the First World War and relieving a severe economic crisis. When the apostle of Marx arrived at the Finland Station in Petrograd, he proclaimed that he had come to complete the revolution. The workers would rule, Lenin said, and Russia would be given peace, the workers would be given bread, and the peasants would be given land. Seven months later Lenin and his followers seized control of the government and set out to fulfill their promises.

The Russian Bolsheviks who took power in November, 1917, were guided by the revolutionary ideology of Karl Marx. Their aim, they said, was to wrest control of the means of production from the bourgeoisie and to place it in the hands of the people. Their method, they proclaimed, would be to seize control of the government in the name of the proletariat and use the power of the state to achieve their aims.

How the Russian Bolsheviks planned to use the government to create a communist society is the subject of Reading LVI. The selections that follow are taken from the pronouncements of Lenin and other Russian revolutionary leaders. As you read the selections, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What were the aims of the Communists? What kind of society were they trying to create?

2. How did the Communists wish to change the patterns of the old Tsarist society? Were there any elements of the "old regime" that they wish to retain?

3. What methods did the Communists intend to use to accomplish their aims?

4. Have Communist aims and methods changed since Lenin's time? Are the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky different from the ideas of Khrushchev?

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO *

The basic ideas of Communism were set down by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in a little pamphlet written in 1848. The Manifesto deals with many subjects--history, economics, political science and philosophy. The selection that follows explains Marx's and Engels' idea of the state.

We have seen above that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class; to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie; to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible. . . .

These measures will, of course, be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries: gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class. . . .

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* Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, (Chicago, 1888).

LENIN ON THE NATURE OF THE STATE *

Nikolai Lenin was the greatest apostle of Marx in Russia. He contributed so much to Communist theory that modern Communists refer to their doctrine as Marxism-Leninism. The following selection presents Lenin's theory on the state.

* From Robert V. Daniels, A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF COMMUNISM, (New York: Random House, 1960) 101-102.

In this selection from his writings, Lenin explains that the victory for communism will be won first by the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party, in a well organized revolution.

TROTSKY ON TERROR **

Leon Trotsky was second only to Lenin in guiding the 1917 revolution that brought the Communists to power. A brilliant orator, he was responsible for whipping up enthusiasm for the Communist take-over. In the selection below, Trotsky explains the purposes of using terror in the revolution.

** From Leon Trotsky, TERRORISM AND COMMUNISM (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961) 57-59.

In this selection Trotsky argues that terrorism is necessary to bring to heel the dissident capitalists, etc. who might oppose the revolution.

STALIN ON THE ROLE OF THE PARTY ***

Josef Stalin succeeded Lenin as the head of the Communist Party and Premier of the Soviet Union. After fighting off competition from Trotsky and other rivals, he accumulated enormous power and ruled Russia with an iron hand for twenty-five years. The following short selection gives his views on the role of the Party in the state.

*** From Sidney Hook, WORLD COMMUNISM (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1962) 23.

In this excerpt Josef Stalin states that since in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat no political or organizational questions are decided without directions from the Party, it could be said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is in essence the dictatorship of its vanguard, the Party.

KRUSHCHEV AND THE 20TH PARTY CONGRESS *

The twentieth Congress of the Communist Party met in Moscow in 1961. At the meeting Nikita Khrushchev, then leader of the Party and Premier of the Soviet Union, had the following new program drawn up.

* From "The Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," in Dan N. Jacobs, ed., THE NEW COMMUNIST MANIFESTO (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1962) 220-245 passim.

In this statement of policy, the former Russian chief of state explains that Communism is aiming for the classless society, but that the dictatorship of the proletariat must continue to insure economic growth to provide the necessary conditions.

READING LVII

THE WORLD OF THE SOVIET CITIZEN

Russian citizens live in a world where the decision-making power is held by a small elite. The citizen does have the right to vote; in fact, he may get in trouble if he fails to turn up at the polls. But the real power in the society rests in the Communist Party. The elected legislature is a mere rubber stamp called together to approve what has already been decided. Even much of the private life of the Soviet citizen is controlled from above. The Party decides what programs will be broadcast over the radio, what news articles will be carried in the press, and what movies, plays and dances will be performed.

What is it like to live in such a society? Citizens of a western democracy cannot appreciate how the daily lives of Soviet citizens are affected by the decisions of the tiny elite who rule Russia. Yet it is the fundamental fact of the Soviet citizen's existence that his rulers make many of the decisions that are reserved to the individual in the United States. The Soviet leaders believe that they must make most of the decisions because they believe it is the only way to stamp out the remnants of the Tsarist regime and create a communist society.

To what extent has the totalitarian regime changed the lives of Soviet citizens? To what extent do Russians cling to the imperial past? To what extent have the old habits of the Russians helped the Communist leaders establish their totalitarian regime? These questions must be answered if we are to appreciate the world of the Soviet citizen. Fortunately, much more information regarding life in the Soviet Union has become available in recent years. Western journalists have been allowed to visit Russia and to report to their homelands what they have found there. Reading LVII contains excerpts from one such report from Soviet Russia. Klaus Mehnert, the author of the selections on the following pages, was born in Russia. He left there at the time of the revolution but has returned on visits several times in recent years as a reporter for a German newspaper. As you read the following selections from Mehnert's book, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What decisions do Soviet leaders make for their citizens that ordinary citizens in the United States are allowed to make for themselves?

2. To what extent do Mehnert's observations reveal that the Communists have been able to achieve the goals they have set for themselves?

3. To what extent has the life of the ordinary Soviet citizen changed from the kind of life he led when Wallace visited Russia?

4. To what extent have the Communist leaders built their regime on the foundations of the Tsarist regime? To what extent have they built their society on the basis of Communist ideology?

5. How would you describe Mehnert's frame of reference? How would it affect his reporting?

SOVIET MAN AND HIS WORLD *

* From Klaus Mehnert, SOVIET MAN AND HIS WORLD (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961) 31-38, 78-81, 183-184, 190-193 passim.

Mehnert describes the attitude and motives of the Russians and analyzes their origins in the society of the Tsars and the ideals of the Communists.

READING LVIII

TOTALITARIANISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union rushed headlong into the twentieth century. Under the regime of the tsars Russia had fallen further and further behind her western European neighbors. By 1914 she had only begun to develop the kind of giant industrial establishment which England, Germany and France had built. Her antiquated system of government could neither rule her well internally nor cope with the increasingly complex problems of an interdependent world. Her social structure resembled a seventeenth century monarchy more than a twentieth century nation. After the Bolsheviks seized power in 1917, they had to accomplish in a few decades what it had taken western Europe centuries to achieve. The Communist elite modernized with a vengeance. Within the lifetime of one man, the Soviet Union played a major role in the defeat of Hitler, became the second greatest industrial nation on earth, opened positions of power and prestige to the mass of her citizens, spread her ideology to almost a billion people living without her borders, and orbited a man in space.

A tiny political elite guided the Soviet Union toward these stupendous achievements. The members of this elite, which controls the Communist Party and through the Party, the formal Soviet government, makes all the key decisions for the nation. They establish the laws and choose men to administer them. They allocate human, capital, and natural resources to produce the goods which they desire and to distribute them among the needs they think most important. They even decide what plays are to be produced, what works of literature are to be published, what news is to go out over the airways, and what paintings are to be displayed in museums. The Soviet leaders have used this great power to catch up with the West. And they have done it at great cost in human suffering: a cost which has been borne by citizens both in the Soviet Union and in the satellite nations which she has conquered.

Westerners consistently ask why Soviet citizens are willing to be ruled in this manner. Scholars have suggested a number of answers. For example, there is no doubt that typical Soviet citizens take great pride in the achievements of their new nation and are willing to bear the costs of making them. Russians have also benefited from the consistent rise in the standard of living, and even though it remains far lower than American standards they are grateful for the gains their leaders have made. In addition, Soviet citizens believe that sacrifices made for a few years to increase the total of capital goods will enable the society to produce huge quantities of consumer goods in the future.

We must not overlook, however, the role which Russia's past has played in determining her present. Russia's nineteenth century political, economic, social, and ideological life conditioned her people to accept modern totalitarianism. Communist leaders after 1917 were able to draw on accepted patterns of behavior to support their own absolute rule. The ordinary Russian citizen had learned from centuries of autocracy that he must obey his rulers. He had learned from his leaders that there is but one "Truth" and that he must believe in it. He had learned that it is Russia's mission to bring this truth to the rest of the world. And he had learned that his role in the process was to devote his life to the good of the entire community so that Russia's mission might be achieved. Habits and beliefs such as these made the construction of a totalitarian regime in Russia relatively easy.

Russians have known only autocratic political systems. Since the thirteenth century, when the oriental Tartars swept across the Russian steppes and established an autocratic empire, Russia has been subjected to one authoritarian ruler after another. The "Tartar Yoke" was thrown off in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but it was replaced by the autocracy of the tsars. When finally the tsars were overthrown in 1917, they were replaced by the totalitarian regime of the Soviet commissars.

The Russian tradition of submission to authority has roots thrust deep into Soviet soil. The roots grow deepest in the Russian conception of the family. The Russian father was an autocrat in his home. No one could question his authority. Family members believed that any decision the father made was made for the good of the family and its members. A father must be stern in order to demonstrate his love for his children. How else could he assure that his sons and daughters will hew close to the path of righteousness? If a father loves his children, he must see that they grow up as free from sin as possible.

The ordinary Russian respected his tsar as he did his father. The tsar's responsibilities for the Russian nation resembled the father's responsibilities for his family. In fact, the tsar was known to Russians as "the Little Father". How this concept determined the relationship between tsar and peasant in the nineteenth century was noted in the journal of a German traveler, Baron von Haxthausen.

> The common Russian entertains no slavish, but simply a childlike, fear and veneration for the Czar; he loves him with devoted tenderness. He becomes a soldier reluctantly, but, once a soldier, he has no feeling of vindictiveness for the coercion exercised upon him, and serves the Czar with utmost fidelity. ...Whatever the Emperor commands must be done; the Russian cannot conceive the impossibility of its execution; ... 1/

1/ Baron von Haxthausen, THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, ITS PEOPLE, INSTITUTIONS AND RESOURCES, in Warren B. Walsh, READINGS IN RUSSIAN HISTORY, (Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, N.Y., 1963), II, 351.

The authority given to the tsar was further buttressed by the Russian religion. Russian Christianity descended from the traditions of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Unlike Roman Catholicism, which placed religious and secular leadership in different hands, Eastern Orthodoxy did not support the separation of church and state. The head of the state was also to be the head of the Church. Accordingly, the tsar was not only responsible for the secular problems of his people, but also for their salvation. As head of the Church, his political commands carried the weight of religious dogma. To oppose them was to oppose the Church - to oppose the will of God, Himself.

Russians submitted willingly to the commands of the tsar. On the whole, they were unaccustomed to the idea that several competing sets of standards could be tolerated in a society. Instead they embraced one "Truth" - the truth of orthodox Christianity. Russians never developed a tolerance for ideas that deviated from those of their religious authorities. Western churches have consistently questioned their beliefs and practices. The Russian Church, however, never conceded that new ideas could be introduced into its dogma. Consequently, Russians believed that there was but one "Truth" and that the tsar and his religious advisers knew it.

Because they believed that they alone possessed the true Christianity, Russians accepted a mission to bring this truth to the rest of the world. Russia had a great destiny, said the nineteenth century author, Gogol. In a passage in which he compared Russia to a speeding troika, or sleigh drawn by three horses, Gogol wrote,

> Russia of mine, are you not also speeding like a troika which nothing can overtake? Is not the road smoking beneath your wheels, and are not the bridges thundering as you cross them, everything left behind, while the spectators, struck with portent, stop to wonder whether you be not a thunderbolt launched from heaven? What does that awe-inspiring progress of yours foretell? What is the unknown force which lies within your mysterious steeds?
>
> Surely the winds themselves must abide in the manes, and every vein in their bodies must be an ear stretched to catch the celestial message which bids them, with gold girded breasts, and hoofs which barely touch the earth as they gallop, fly forward on a mission of God? 2/

The belief that Russia possessed the one true Christianity and that it was her mission to bring it to the rest of the world fostered the idea that the individual Russian should devote his life to the good of the group. To carry out her mission, Russia needed every citizen to subordinate his life to the task. The individual Russian had no identity and no purpose outside the

2/ Nicholas Gogol, Dead Souls, in Hans Kohn, ed., BASIC HISTORY OF MODERN RUSSIA, Van Nostrand, Princeton, N.J., 1957, 1929-130.

community that formed his world. The typical Russian lived on a peasant commune, or mir, as it was known in Russia. The word mir means not only commune but also "world." To a very great extent, the mir was the Russian peasant's world. As westerners identify themselves by their last names, the Russian peasant identified himself by his mir. Outside the mir he was lost; away from home, the peasant had no purpose, no roots, no idea of where he belonged.

Imperial Russia left its mark on the Russian mind. The Soviet citizen was accustomed to submitting to authority. He had come to accept the idea that there was one orthodox set of beliefs to which he must subscribe. He had accepted the belief that Russia had a mission to the world and that he must be part of that mission. He had grown up in the belief that the group was more important than the individual, for the group gave a man identity and purpose. The ordinary Russian never developed a sense of individual freedom in western terms. Freedom was not the opportunity to choose between alternatives; rather it was freedom from having to choose. The Russian need not bother about the hard decisions in life. They would be made for him by his superiors, able to choose the correct alternative because they alone knew the "Truth" which must guide their decision.

The totalitarian rulers in Moscow have made good use of the Russian habits of mind. The Communist leaders have substituted their authority, their orthodoxy, their sense of mission, their sense of community for the old Russian notions. Rather than the authority of the tsar, the Russian submits to the authority of the commissar. Rather than the orthodoxy of Russian Orthodox Christianity, the Soviet citizen subscribes to the beliefs of Marxism-Leninism. Rather than the mission of God, the individual Russian now devotes his life to the world revolution of Communism. Rather than identifying themselves with the mir, Soviet men and women identify with their Party, their factory, or their collective farm.

But the ingrained habits of the Russians are not responsible alone for the establishment of a totalitarian state in the Soviet Union. Western political thought also played a role. The Communist prophet, Karl Marx, stated that before the ultimate goal of a classless society was reached, a dictatorship of the proletariat would be necessary to destroy bourgeois society. Marx believed that western parliamentary governments were actually instruments of bourgeois oppression. Just as the bourgeoisie oppressed the working class through their ownership of the means of production, they created the parliamentary state to allow them to keep the proletariat in its place. To reverse this terrible injustice, Marx said the proletariat would have to seize control of the machines and factories and the political system as well. A period of dictatorship of the proletariat would follow during which the workers would convert or exterminate bourgeois oppressers and thereby pave the way to the establishment of a communist society in which the state would no longer be necessary.

Lenin extended Marx's conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the dictatorship of the Party. Lenin said that the entire working class could not direct the development of a new order because so many workers and peasants were filled with bourgeois ideals. Only a handful of men could have the dedication, the knowledge, and the ruthlessness to implement the measures necessary for changing the old order. According to Lenin, a hard core of revolutionary leaders would seize the government in the name of the proletariat and begin the construction of a socialist society. They would begin by confiscating all of the privately owned factories and farms from their owners. These would be turned over to the state. The former bourgeois owners would be compelled to work for the state or be liquidated. Directing this process would be the worker's elite, the Communist Party. According to communist theory, when the process was completed and all remnants of bourgeois society eliminated, a new classless society would be created and there would no longer be any need for a state apparatus to oppress one class or another. The state could then, in the words of the Communist prophets, "wither away."

This goal has definitely not been met in Soviet Russia. Nor is there much evidence that the Russians have progressed toward the classless society. In fact, the state has grown more powerful rather than weaker. Instead of giving up its position to the people, the totalitarian elite has actually accumulated more and more power in its own hands.

The elite has used this power to modernize the economy. The entire economic system is planned by a central committee which decides each year what goods to produce, how to produce them, and how to distribute them. The planning committees take general guidelines from Party officials and turn them into concrete proposals. During the entire period since 1917, the emphasis has been on the production of capital goods - the factories, transportation systems, and tools essential to the production of other goods. Additional capital goods are absolutely essential to rapid economic growth, for only by supplying each worker with more tools can his productivity per hour increase. But at the same time, the standard of living has been edging steadily upwards. Every student of the Soviet Union admits that the typical citizen has more of the world's goods today than he did in 1914.

Economic progress has not been steady. After the Bolsheviks made peace with Germany during World War I, they tried to communize the economy in one fell swoop. But factory production broke down and peasants began to refuse to produce for the cities since they got nothing in return. Consequently the New Economic Policy was launched in 1921 under which Russia returned partially to a system of private ownership and production for profit. Prosperity returned to the countryside because peasants worked hard on their own plots of land, and the production in industry also moved ahead. Then in 1928 Stalin launched the first of the Five Year Plans under which the regime pressed farmers into collectives and once again brought industry firmly under state control. Literally millions of wealthy peasants, called Kulaks, were killed for their opposition to these policies. In fact the Russians have never solved their agricultural problems. Fifty per cent of their labor force still tills the soil. In the United States, less than fifteen per cent of the labor force are farmers.

World War II set Russia back anew. Much of the war was fought on Russian soil. Millions of her young men and women fell before the Nazi rifles and billions of rubles in property were destroyed. After the war, Russia regained part of this loss through commandeering material from the lands she conquered, but most of her recovery came from her own resources. The new Five Year Plans called for ever-increasing productivity. Although the economy has often fallen short of the goals set by the regime, the gains are still impressive.

Russia still continues to lag far behind the West in the standard of living of its citizens. The standard of living does not go up more quickly because of the goals of the regime. Anxious to catch the West and convinced that the West would destroy her if given the chance, the Soviet Union has invested very heavily in armaments and in new factories. The arms bring her a measure of security. The factories provide goods to supply the armed forces and additional capital goods to build still more mills and factories. Although the members of the elite who control this vast system invite criticism of details about the way in which it is run, they will not permit attacks on the principles of their policies. In the modern Soviet Union, as in the times of the tsars, the people accept, they do not initiate or criticize basic policies.

Of course, Soviet citizens do vote; in fact, they are required to cast ballots. But they do not elect the effective decision makers. The men for whom they vote, members of the Supreme Soviet, are in reality only rubber stamps. The members of the Politbureau of the Communist Party make the key decisions which the Supreme Soviet inevitably endorses, usually by a unanimous vote. Unlike the United States, elections in the Soviet Union are designed to demonstrate support for the regime rather than to seek guidance from citizens for future action. Today Soviet citizens file past the tomb of Lenin, praising him just as they once praised "The Little Father of All the Russias."

The Soviet social system is now more open to talent than it ever was in the time of the tsars. Free public education is provided for everyone with competitive examinations determining which men and women go on to secondary schools and colleges. Those who survive this rigorous competition end up with the best paying jobs and frequently with admission to the Communist Party whose members make up the elite of the Soviet Union. The old elite of rich noble landowners has thus been replaced by a new one of scientists, engineers, generals, politicians and scholars. But while the old elite was recruited in the nurseries of the nobles, the new one comes from the schools. Still the Russian people accept the idea of an elite governing class just as they once accepted the position of the nobility.

Thus the contemporary Soviet Union is a peculiar blend of the old authoritarian traditions of Mother Russia and the new philosophy of Marxist-Leninism. Rooted in the Russian past, totalitarianism in the Soviet Union has received grafts from the West. A unique totalitarian state with these two elements blended together has emerged. How much it will change in the next few decades may well play a vital role in the future of the free world.

UNIT XV

ADOLF HITLER AND THE NAZI REICH

Stating the Issue

In 1933 a funny little man with a broom-like mustache and a drooping forelock became chancellor of Germany. He and his Nazi cronies established a totalitarian regime which heaped indignity, death, and destruction on the German people and their European neighbors for twelve years thereafter. The ovens at Buchenwald, the gas chambers at Auschwitz, and the ruins of the bombed-out cathedral at Coventry still stand as testimony to the scourge of Adolf Hitler and his Nazi Reich.

The twelve years that Hitler ruled Germany and threatened the survival of western civilization stand out as one of the most barbarous episodes in the history of Europe. Never before had any one man used the power of the state so ruthlessly to degrade human life. The Hitler era was so ghastly that westerners wish they could blot it out from their memory. The whole period seems to have been a monstrous mistake, as if for a brief moment the humanistic ideals of western society were forgotten in favor of the rantings of a demented little man.

Yet Hitler's Nazism was the ugly and deformed child of western civilization. The Fuehrer combined the same genes that created humane western democracies to produce his monstrous off-spring. What were these elements of western civilization, and how did Hitler combine them? What were the characteristics of the German people who supported Hitler? Why did they support him? How were the ideals of Nazism translated into practice? These are the questions we must answer to understand how Nazism was born. They are the issues upon which this unit focuses.

READING LIX

THE GERMAN PEOPLE AND THE NAZIS

In 1929 a world wide depression struck all of the industrialized countries of the western world. Unemployment rose to staggering heights and production fell to new lows. In its wake, the depression brought suffering upon millions. The peoples of every western nation sought some remedy for their distress. In the United States and England the government was given broader powers to deal with economic problems. In France the voters turned from one panacea to another, hoping to find a solution. In Germany, the people vested power in Adolf Hitler.

But why Hitler? Other nations did not turn to totalitarian dictators in the 1930's. Certainly part of the answer can be explained by Hitler's intrigues in the government and his use of the storm troopers to terrorize his opposition. But part of the explanation must also be sought in the will of the German people themselves, for over 17,000,000 of them voted for Adolf Hitler in the elections of 1932 and 1933. Who supported Hitler and why?

Reading LIX provides you with evidence to answer this question. It begins with a brief history of Germany from 1919 to 1933. Next come three party programs written during the 1930's. These three programs represent the appeals of three parties to the German people. They are followed by case studies of representative Germans. Although these case studies are fiction in that noe of the people ever lived, they are based upon facts. Each case represents what is known about various types of people who lived in Germany in the 1930's. Your teacher will ask each of you to read one of the case studies. As you study the party platforms and your case study, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How do the three parties differ in their programs for Germany? Which has the more extreme program?
2. Which one of the parties would the person in your case study support? Why would he support that party?
3. What can you learn about the general conditions in Germany prior to 1930 from these case studies?

THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC AND THE RISE OF HITLER

After centuries of autocracy, the German nation founded a Republic in 1919. The republican constitution written at Weimar skillfully combined elements of the parliamentary systems of western Europe and the independent executive of the United States. With this excellent constitution the future of the German republic looked promising. But the new democracy was doomed to failure.

In the first place the republican government signed the peace treaty at Versailles. Since Germans believed that the treaty placed unjust burdens and imposed ruthless punitive measures on Germany, the new government won the opposition of many elements in German society at the very start. At the same time those who had been responsible for losing the war, the Kaiser's government and military leaders, escaped any of the blame. Hence, to many Germans the glories of the Fatherland were associated with the autocratic government of the Emperor and the efficient military machine of the generals, while the lowest ebb of the nation was associated with the Weimar Republic.

Secondly, the new government was plagued with many groups which wished to overthrow it immediately. German communists wished to establish the same kind of regime that had been developed in the Soviet Union while right wing groups wished to re-establish the old monarchy. These groups started several minor rebellions against the government, among them the first attempt of Adolf Hitler's National Socialist German Worker's Party to overthrow the government by force. With so many enemies, the Republic's future was very uncertain.

Third, even the friends of the Republic contributed to its downfall. Those who supported the Republic did not group themselves into two or three parties each appealing to a large group in the German population. Rather they separated into many parties, each with its own program. Consequently, no one party was ever able to achieve a majority in the German parliament, the Reichstag. With so many groups competing for political power, the government was very unstable. Coalitions of parties had to be formed in order to carry on the process of governing. Whenever a minor disagreement arose between the parties of the coalition, the government would fall and a new government with new policies would have to be formed.

Germany also had great economic difficulties. In 1922 rampant inflation almost ruined the German economy. At one point it took a bushel basket of money to buy a bushel of potatoes. The value of currency declined to such an extent that the weekly salary of many Germans was worth only the price of one street car ride. Germany recovered from this currency debacle, but was continually plagued with demands of the World War I allies that she pay the reparations payments assessed in the Versailles Treaty.

Despite these difficulties, Germany seemed well on the road to stable government and a prospering economy in the late 1920's. Able men such as Gustav Stresemann were able to weather Germany's political and economic storms and the war hero, Paul von Hindenberg, was able to acquire more respect for the new government when he became its president. During the last years of the 1920's the German economy began to prosper, government crises began to lessen, and German life returned toward a more normal routine.

Then came the blow. In 1930 a world wide depression shook all of Europe and the United States. The German government was rocked to its unstable foundations. It was unable to deal effectively with the increasing economic distress. Adolf Hitler's Nazi party, which had never amounted to much during the 1920's, suddenly got a new lease on life.

Hitler had used his period of relative obscurity to prepare well for the time when he would be able to work his way into power. He had developed a private army for the National Socialist Party by recruiting hoodlums into an organization known as the Storm Troopers. All over Germany he had established local party organizations which could spread Nazi propaganda and recruit members. He had developed a "cabinet" within the party organization so that when the chance came to take power he would have men prepared to carry out the administration of the government.

Hitler's opportunity came in 1932. His Nazi party won the most seats in the Reichstag in an election that year. The German leaders had to deal with him if they were to form an effective government. For a while they tried to work around him by forming a coalition of all the other parties. When this failed President Hindenberg called for a new election. The Nazis lost seats in the election, but they still remained the most powerful party in the Reichstag. Hindenberg was then persuaded to call upon Hitler to be Chancellor, thinking that the other political leaders could control him. This assumption proved to be wrong, for Hitler called for new elections in March, 1933. Using the power of the government he terrorized his opposition, burning newspapers and wrecking radio stations. As a final stroke he burned the Reichstag building and blamed the conflagration on the Communists. In the election the Nazis received a majority of the seats in the Reichstag. Immediately the Nazis gave dictatorial power to their Fuehrer and the march toward a totalitarian regime was begun.

PARTY A

We are committed to the overthrow of the presently existing, oppressive, bourgeois republic and all of its imperialistic, capitalistic economic and social institutions. The party favors:

1. The abolition of private property and the development of the common productive machinery for the common good of the people.

2. The establishment of land reform programs which will nationalize the usage of land for the common good of all the people. The state will own, run, and maintain the productive forces of agriculture.

3. The ownership by the people through its agency, the state, of all the industrial productive forces of the nation in order that they might benefit all the people rather than the capitalists.

4. Organization of the government under worker's councils to replace the oppressive bourgeois regime.

5. A foreign policy devoted toward bringing about more harmonious relations between Germany and her natural ally against capitalism, Russia.

To the German people: The cause of your misery is the oppressive domination of international capitalism, which seeks to exploit the labor of the worker, especially the German worker, in order that the capitalists might enrich themselves. Germans, unite to rid yourselves of this terrible burden.

PARTY B

This party wishes to establish in Germany a democratic republic and to allow Germany to take its place among the free governments of Europe.

1. The Party declares that it is committed to supporting the present German Republic, in order that the principles of freedom and democracy will continue in the councils of the German Government and that justice will live in the hearts of our German countrymen.

2. The Party states that it will honor all of Germany's obligations, political and financial, in order that Germany's honor and respect will not be decreased in the eyes of the world.

3. The Party sets as one of its major goals the establishment of a more equitable arrangement of paying reparations in order that future payments will not be harmful to the Germany economy as a whole. But the Party accepts Germany's responsibility for paying the reparations.

4. To stimulate employment, the Party will seek to create more jobs by undertaking an extensive program of public works.

5. To aid the personal burden of German workers who are not employed, the Party will establish an unemployment insurance program which will provide the necessities of life for the unemployed for a six month period.

6. To aid farmers, the Party will grant subsidies to holders of small farms in order that they will not curtail production in a period of falling prices.

7. To ease the tax burdens of all Germans, the Party will attempt to take significant economic measures so that government spending will not be wasteful in its operation. One such cut in expenditure might well be in military appropriations.

8. The Party believes in the right of those who disagree with it to speak and write on those issues without interference.

PARTY C

This program is declared to be inalterable. The leaders have no intention, once the aims announced in it have been achieved, of setting up fresh ones, merely in order to increase the discontent of the masses artificially, and so ensure the continued existence of the Party.

1. We demand the union of all Germans, including those in Austria, to form a Great Germany.

2. We demand the abolition of the Treaty of Versailles.

3. We demand that the State shall make as its first duty, the promotion of the industry and livelihood of the citizens of the State. If it is not possible to nourish the entire population of the State, non-citizens of the State, that is those without German blood (Jews) must be excluded from this protection of the State. They will not be allowed to pursue certain occupations, nor to live from the honest industry of the German people.

4. We demand therefore: the abolition of all incomes not earned by work, namely income from interest and dividends.

5. We demand the confiscation of all profits made by war-profiteers.

6. We demand a fundamental reorganization and reorientation of the government which hitherto has remained subservient to the demands of Germany's enemies.

7. We demand the formation of a large national army, provided for by universal military conscription.

8. We demand the maintenance of production levels by state decree.

9. We demand the stabilization of the currency by state decree.

10. The state shall see to the raising of the standard of health in the nation by protecting mothers and infants, prohibiting child labor, increasing bodily efficiency by obligatory gymnastics and sports.

11. That all the foregoing requirements may be realized, we demand the creation of a strong central power, especially a strong executive power, based upon the Party's leadership principle.

We believe that our nation can only achieve permanent health from within on the principle: The common interest before self.

CASE #1

Hermann Struts is a lieutenant in the German Army. He had been a lieutenant in World War I and had fought on the Western Front. He came from a long line of military officers, he had gone to the German Military Academy, and he was proud of the German military heritage. He was proud from his personal point of view, since family had been part of that tradition, and from a general point of view, in that Germany had always boasted a fine army which had accomplished many things for Germany's well-being. The reason Hermann hasn't been promoted in over ten years is because the German Army was made quite small by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and since there were fewer promotions. In the olden days, Hermann probably would have been at least a captain by now, because he was a good and resourceful officer, and in all likelihood he probably would have been a major. He was resentful, too, of the fact that Germany, under the Versailles Treaty, was forced to give up her military tradition. He believed that this had done irreparable harm to Germany's honor, and to his honor as a soldier. He felt that the present government should not have signed the treaty, and that the German Army should have been allowed to resist the treaty. If only the government had given the army the go-ahead to do so, Germany, and he would not be in the position they now found themselves.

CASE #2

Otto Hauptmann works in an automobile factory in Berlin. His trade union has been very active in working toward and achieving better working conditions and higher wages. The union hasn't been as successful as Otto would like because of the terrible conditions of inflation after the war. Otto believes that the union will continue to fight for his rights and that with continued peace will come prosperity. People will then be buying more cars and peaceful relations with other countries will allow for an export trade since everybody knows that German cars are superior. Otto rather enjoys his position in the union. He is a group leader elected by his fellow workers. The group leaders meet often and discuss the various problems. Sometimes they meet with factory officials. Otto doesn't think this has accomplished a great deal for the workers but he likes to be consulted and to feel he has some say in the factory. Some of the members in the trade union have some rather strange ideas about the trade unions taking over the government; this bothers Otto; he thinks that the government has enough to worry about with all the agitators around. If the government didn't have to be so concerned with its position it could do more for the workers.

CASE #3

Eric von Ronheim was the chief executive of the German firm which made brakes, pistons, and other parts for German automobiles. He was extremely concerned over the present economic situation in Germany. Less production meant less profit for his company. Of course, he felt, if Germany had not been treated the way she had at Versailles, and if she were allowed to produce goods for her own consumption without the burdensome tax that was imposed by the present government in order to pay off the reparations the Allies had demanded, then perhaps things would be a bit better. As it was, Germany still had to pay the reparations and could not because Germany was in a depression. One of the reasons Germany was in a depression, Eric believed, was because Germans had been so heavily taxed to pay for reparations that they did not have enough money to buy German goods, and hence there was less demand in Germany for German goods. Since the other countries were in depressions, too, there now was no foreign market for German goods. And even if Germany were to come out of the depression, Eric felt, it would do little good, since the increased income would only go to paying off these reparations. Eric was worried about another menace, too, namely the large number of Communists in Germany who wished to set up the same kind of government in Germany that Russia had. Of course if this were to happen, he and his kind would receive no mercy from the ungrateful workers who were employed in his factories. Then again, this would mean becoming subservient to Germany's old enemy, Russia.

CASE #4

Frau Anna Seif, an elderly grandmother dotes on her twelve grandchildren. She would have had many more, she feels, if her two eldest boys had not been killed in the last war. Although of course her oldest daughter is a nun and two more of her ten children died in infancy. A devout Catholic and proud of her Bavarian heritage, Anna is concerned about the "young whipper snappers" who parade about the streets with guns and talk "war talk." Anna thinks that the Church should have more influence over the people today. Germany is going through bad times and sometimes Anna has trouble getting enough money to feed her retired husband and herself, let alone a visiting grandchild. She remembers when dairy products to make the old Bavarian dishes were plentiful, but no more. The last war, heathens and immoral men in government helped to bring this sorry state about. The emphasis on industrialization and "new-fangled things" bothers her.

CASE #5

Wilhelm Schultz is a peasant who works with his father on their farm in East Prussia. His uncle, who lives just a few miles away now, lived in the area of East Prussia that was made into Poland (Polish Corridor) by the Versailles Treaty. Wilhelm gets reports about how the Poles mistreat the Germans from his uncle. Wilhelm's grandfather lives in Berlin, not too far away, but yet his family never goes to see him because it means they have to cross part of Poland to get there and the travel restrictions make it difficult to go. Wilhelm, whose schooling had taught him great love for the German heroes like Siegfried, was very dismayed when he learned that the government had signed the peace treaty which had put many Germans, like his uncle, under the rule of the Poles. Then again, he saw people who went against the basic Prussian values he had been taught in school, rise to respected positions in government. He saw in them a distinct and distasteful lack of moral discipline--they were often drunk and caroused a great deal. This was not the way Prussians should behave, he thought. Of course, he and his father were finding that times were hard. Berlin had once been the great market for the produce of his father's farm, but now it was impossible to ship goods to Berlin, because they had to cross the Polish Corridor. Of course the depression did not make things any easier. And then the Communists, who were not too far away in Russia, had been a constant threat to Wilhelm and his father because they advocated the end of private property. Wilhelm and his father were proud of the land they worked, they were proud to call it their own land--it seemed to give them an added dignity. And the Communists wanted to take that away from them--the last thing in the world which seemed to offer any kind of reward. And they were just across the border!

CASE #6

Wolfgang von Kohler is a prominent attorney who attended the University of Bonn, majored in the liberal arts and has a strong sense of the value of German cultural, literary, and historical traditions. He believes that the great gifts of the German people to western civilization have been ignored. He would like very much to see the newly created German democratic republic lead the way to a democratic Europe. In the Republic, he believes, should be united all the German democratic traditions. What upsets him are the rather unfortunate methods often used by the Weimar Republic in repressing the parties of the extreme left more cruelly than those of the extreme right. However, Wolfgang's sense of justice is more outraged by the deprecatory attitude accorded to the German Republic by the allies, particularly by the French. He, and other like him who believe in Germany and human dignity, would show the other countries that the German example once again would lead that of her contemporaries.

CASE #7

Henirich Munchen was the owner of a small grocery store in Munich. For years his father, and then he, had run this little store, and for years it made just enough extra money that his father could put a little money away for him to go to the university. Since he chose not to go to the university, the money stayed in the bank. But he saw a use for it. He had two boys, both very brilliant. One wanted to be a doctor, and the other wanted to be an engineer. The money would be put to good use--it would pay for their education. That is, the money his father had saved, and the money he had saved by making sacrifices. The store was a nice little business for the family. But in 1927, inflation had hit Germany because the German government had kept printing more and more money to pay off the reparations. Since the money was not backed up by anything economically solid, it had become worth less and less. Two weeks before his oldest son, Friederick, was to go to the university, the bank had called him and told him that his savings were now worth about enough to buy three postage stamps. The bank asked him if he wanted the stamps, or should they just discontinue his account. This was quite a blow to the old man but it was even more of a blow to his sons, who had been counting on going to college. Though Heinrich was philosophical about such things, his sons asked him what kind of faith could one put in a system which ruined a man. What good

was hard work and saving if the result of such efforts was completely wiped out by external unseen forces over which one had no control? And now, in 1930, there seemed to be little that could be done to regain the losses, since people were not making a lot of money, and therefore could not buy as many groceries as they had before. Again this was due to no fault of Heinrich, and his sons could not understand why they should place their faith in the old system which had brought these tragedies upon their father and them. Moreover, the competition from the big department stores and chain stores made it extremely difficult for Heinrich to compete for customers.

READING LX

NAZISM IN THEORY

The Communist regime in the Soviet Union draws its ideology from the West. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were both Germans schooled in the philosophical thought of nineteenth century Europe. Their basic assumptions came from the scientific thought and the romantic ideas of the previous two centuries. They were also influenced by the impact of the industrial revolution on the lives of workers and by a belief in bringing about change by armed revolt which came from the French Revolution. Modern communism is a western ideology just as modern democracy has its roots sunk firmly into western soil.

But what of Nazism? Hitler's ideology seems to deny the major values and ideals of western civilization which we have been studying in this course. He was certainly not the direct heir of the humanism of the Greeks. He violated many of the legal principles of the Roman Empire. The teachings of Christianity, the emphasis on individualism which sprang from the Renaissance, the urge toward world peace--all these western ideas and many others were foreign to his thought.

We must remember, however, that the West has presented many faces to the world. We tend to identify the West with the ideals and institutions that America holds dear. Many Americans deny that communism has roots in the West. Yet it has. Its roots in some places touch the same sources as the roots of democracy; in others, they grow from quite different origins within western traditions.

Reading LX concentrates on the matter of the origins of Nazi ideology. The selections that follow contain some of the major ideas that guided Hitler's Third Reich. As you read, consider the following questions.

1. **What are Hitler's ideas about the nation and nationalism? Are these ideas similar to or different from the ideas of earlier German nationalists?**

2. **What are the basic elements of Nazi political theory as explained by Hitler and Huber? Is there any relationship between their ideas and the ideas of earlier political philosophers, such as Rousseau, Locke, or Bossuet?**

3. **What are the basic assumptions that Hitler makes about race? How would a nation's social structure be organized according to these principles?**

4. **What are Hitler's ideas on foreign policy? How do they relate to the conditions imposed upon Germany by the Versailles Treaty?**

HITLER ON RACE AND NATIONALITY *

Adolf Hitler did not invent racism. The racial ideas expressed in the following paragraphs were derived from the works of two nineteenth century philosophers, Gobineau and Houston Stuart Chamberlain. These two men wrote long books elaborating the theory that the progress of history depended upon the superior races of mankind, and that the most superior race was the Aryan race, or that race that lived in northern Europe.

* **From Adolf Hitler, MEIN KAMPF, Ralph Mannheim, trans. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943) 383-84, 394, 642 passim.**

In these selections, Hitler explains his theory of the folkish state. He states that the highest concern of the state is the preservation of those racial elements that made it great.

HITLER ON THE ROLE OF THE PARTY **

Hitler was the leader of the National Socialist German Worker's Party which was the only party allowed to exist after he achieved power. In the following passage he explains the role it is to play in creating the folkish state.

** **From Adolf Hitler, MY NEW ORDER, Raoul de Roussy de Sales, ed. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941) 290-293 passim.**

In this selection Hitler argues that the leadership of Germany should be given over to the Nazis for they are the most racially pure, the most courageous, and the most nationalistic.

ALFRED ROSENBERG ON RACE AND NATIONALITY *

Though Hitler proclaimed the Nazi racist views to the German people in his speeches and books, the major source of the ideas regarding race and nationality was the pen of Alfred Rosenberg, a Nazi writer.

* From Raymond E. Murphy _et al._, READINGS ON FASCISM AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM, (Denver: University of Colorado Press) 72.

Rosenberg argues that nationality is dependent upon the strong race predominating, hence the racial strains in Germany must remain pure.

ERNST HUBER ON THE FUEHRER PRINCIPLE **

The leading political scientist of the Nazi Reich was Ernst Rudolph Huber who, in the following selection, explains the basic leadership principles of the Nazi ideology.

** From Raymond E. Murphy, _op. cit._, 74-75.

Huber argues that the will of the people is embodied in one man, the Fuehrer, and therefore, Germans must give unquestioning obedience to him.

READING LXI

NAZISM IN PRACTICE

Hitler's opportunity to put his theories into practice came in 1933. By a combination of intrigue, terror and popular support, the head of the Nazi Party became the head of the German nation. Hitler and his Nazi cohorts immediately created a totalitarian state and started the programs that translated ideals into reality.

The initial efforts of the Nazis did much to create order out of the chaos into which Germany had fallen. When Hitler achieved power 6,000,000 Germans were unemployed. Within a year almost everyone was back at work. The old unstable government was replaced with a very efficient, highly organized machine that was capable of making decisions quickly. Hitler's reassertion of Germany's power in international relations gave rise to great national pride.

But the German people had to buy the new stability, prosperity and pride at a tremendous price. They had to accept the translation into practice of the Nazi ideology. Reading LXI contains documents that provide a partial chronicle of what Nazi rule meant in Germany and Europe. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. How did Hitler establish the Nazi state? What is the relationship between the Nazi state and Nazi political theory?

2. What did Hitler do about race? Are these practices the logical consequence of the theories on race?

3. How did Hitler treat the nations of Europe? Does this treatment follow logically from Nazi ideology?

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NAZI REICH *

"Decree of the Reich's President for the Protection of the People and State" (February 28, 1933)

In virtue of paragraph 2, Article 48, of the German Constitution, the following is decreed as a defensive measure against Communist acts of violence, endangering the state:

Art. I. Sections 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124, and 153 of the Constitution of the German Reich are suspended until further notice. Thus, restrictions on personal liberty, on the right of free expression of opinion, including freedom of the press, on the right of assembly and the right of association, and

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* From Raymond P. Stearns, PAGEANT OF EUROPE (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1947) 812-813.

This selection gives the text of several acts denying basic freedoms, creating the one-party state, and the elevation of the national socialist German worker's party to the position of ruler of the Reich.

RACE THEORY IN PRACTICE **

** From Raymond P. Stearns, op. cit., 815-816, 973, 974.

These famous decrees (Nuremberg Laws) virtually outlaw the Jewish people. They forbid marriages with Jews, the right of Jews to protection of the Nazi Reich, and the right to citizenship in Germany.

THE FINAL SOLUTION ***

*** From Leon Poliakov, HARVEST OF HATE (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1954) 194-96.

This reading graphically describes the execution of thousands of Jews in a gas chamber.

THE NAZIS AND THE WAR *

The following selection is taken from the indictment of the Allied War Crimes Commission that tried the Nazi leaders after the Second World War. The indictment specifies what the Nazis did when they moved into a conquered nation.

PLUNDER OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PROPERTY

The Defendants ruthlessly exploited the people and the material resources of the countries they occupied, in order to strengthen the Nazi war machine, to depopulate and impoverish the rest of Europe, to enrich themselves and their adherents, and to promote German economic supremacy over Europe.

The Defendants engaged in the following acts and practices, among others:

1. They degraded the standard of life of the people of occupied countries and caused starvation, by stripping occupied countries of foodstuffs for removal to Germany.

2. They seized raw materials and industrial machinery in all of the occupied countries, removed them to Germany and used them in the interest of the German war effort and the German economy. . . .

5. They established comprehensive controls over the economies of all of the occupied countries and directed their resources, their production and their labor in the interests of the German war economy, depriving the local populations of the products of essential industries. . . .

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* From U.S. Department of State, TRIAL OF WAR CRIMINALS, (Washington, 1945).

8. In further development of their plan of criminal exploitation, they destroyed industrial cities, cultural monuments, scientific institutions, and property of all types in the occupied territories to eliminate the possibility of competition with Germany. . . .

The Germans approached monuments of culture, dear to the Soviet people, with special hatred. They broke up the estate of the poet Pushkin in Mikhailovskoye, desecrating his grave, and destroying the neighboring villages and the Svyatogor monastery.

They destroyed the estate and museum of Leo Tolstoy, "Yasnaya Polyana" and desecrated the grave of the great writer. They destroyed in Klin the Museum of Tschaikovsky and in Penaty, the museum of the painter Repin and many others.

The Nazi conspirators destroyed 1,670 Greek Orthodox Churches, 237 Roman Catholic Churches, 67 Chapels, 532 Synagogues, etc. . . .

The overall value of the material loss which the U.S.S.R. has borne, is computed to be 679,000,000,000 rubles, in state prices of 1941.

Following the German occupation of Czechoslovakia on 15 March 1939 the defendants seized and stole large stocks of raw materials, copper, tin, iron, cotton, and food; caused to be taken to Germany large amounts of railway rolling stock, and many engines, carriages, steam vessels and trolley buses; plundered libraries, laboratories, and art museums of books, pictures, objects of art, scientific apparatus and furniture; stole all gold reserves and foreign exchange of Czechoslovakia, including 23,000 kilograms of gold of a nominal value of £5,265,000; fraudulently acquired control and thereafter looted the Czech banks and many Czech industrial enterprises; and otherwise stole, looted and misappropriated Czechoslovak public and private property. The total sum of defendants' economic spoliation of Czechoslovakia from 1938 to 1945 is estimated at 200,000,000,000 Czechoslovak crowns. . . .

GERMANIZATION OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

In certain occupied territories purportedly annexed to Germany the defendants methodically and pursuant to plan endeavored to assimilate those territories politically, culturally, socially and economically into the German Reich. The defendants endeavored to obliterate the former national character of these territories. In pursuance of these plans and endeavors, the defendants forcibly deported inhabitants who were predominantly non-German and introduced thousands of German colonists. . . .

In the Department of the Upper Rhine, the Lower Rhine and the Moselle, the methods of Germanization were those of annexation followed by conscription.

1. From the month of August, 1940, officials who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Reich were expelled. On September 21st expulsions and deportation of populations began and on November 22nd, 1940, more than 70,000 Lorrainers or Alsacians were driven into the South zone of France. From July 31, 1941, onwards, more than 100,000 persons were deported into the

Eastern regions of the Reich or to Poland. All the property of the deportees or expelled persons was confiscated. At the same time, 80,000 Germans coming from the Saar or from Westphalia were installed in Lorraine and 2,000 farms belonging to French people were transferred to Germans.

2. From 2nd January, 1942, all the young people of the Departments of the Upper Rhine and the Lower Rhine, aged from 10 to 18 years, were incorporated in the Hitler Youth. The same thing was done in the Moselle from 4th August, 1942. From 1940 all the French schools were closed, their staffs expelled, and the German school system was introduced in the three departments.

3. On the 28th September, 1940, an order applicable to the Department of the Moselle ordained the Germanization of all the surnames and christian names which were French in form. The same thing was done from the 15th January, 1943, in the Departments of the Upper Rhine and the Lower Rhine.

4. Two orders from the 23rd to 24th August, 1942, imposed by force German nationality on French citizens. . . .

READING LXII

FASCISM: DENIAL OR FULFILLMENT OF WESTERN TRADITIONS?

The horrifying specter of Hitler's Reich threatened the very heart of western civilization. The relentless march of the Fuehrer's armies menaced the security of the liberal democracies. In addition, the attraction of Europeans to totalitarian ideas nearly undermined the value system on which democracy was based. Every western country--indeed, nearly every country in the world--included groups which wished to establish either Communist or Nazi societies in their country. Even though the liberal democracies prevailed in the great war against fascist totalitarianism, the totalitarian idea has not been purged from the world. Communist totalitarianism still attracts millions of people while fascist totalitarianism has by no means disappeared.

Totalitarianism--whether it be of the left in Communism or of the right in Nazism--seems completely alien to western traditions. Westerners pride themselves in their democratic institutions which give freedom and equality to men. The humanist traditions of ancient Greece reinforced by the Christian ideal of brotherly love have implanted humanitarian ethics in western hearts. The democratic market economy aims at material well-being for all men. Nationalist feelings in western nations have given men a sense of common purpose with their fellow citizens in sharing and promoting the humanist-democratic ideals. Totalitarianism seems to deny all this.

The Communists and the Fascists have rejected democratic institutions for autocratic dictatorships. They have denied men freedom as they forced them to meet the needs of the state. They have rejected the principle of equality by elevating party members over ordinary citizens and the "master race" over "inferior" strains. They have seized command of the economy to make it meet their needs rather than fill the needs of all people. They have used nationalism to set citizen against citizen in the accomplishment of their goals. Most horrible of all, they have degraded millions of human beings in concentration camps, Siberian exiles, and mass murders. But if totalitarianism emerged in the West, does it not have roots planted deep in the soil of western traditions?

Nazi totalitarianism grew from seeds sown in the French Revolution. Hitler's Fuehrer principle had its antecedents in Rousseau's idea of the General Will. Hitler stressed the idea that he and he alone could give the Germans leadership to achieve their destiny. He would embody the will of the German race and carry it to its ultimate mission. Likewise, Hitler was a "democratic tyrant" as Napoleon had been. At every stage of his career throngs of German people rallied to his support and willingly gave him control of their separate destinies.

From the nineteenth century emerged the concept of nationalism which gave emotional support to Hitler's claim to leadership. The Germans were a proud people degraded by their loss in the First World War. Hitler made them proud again by standing up to their former conquerors. He appealed to their national pride and asked them to give their lives to him that they might fulfill Germany's historic mission. The Germans responded to the call. Their intense nationalistic feeling was translated into unwavering support for their Fuehrer.

Hitler's dictatorship also had its roots in the autocratic systems of the western heritage. Louis XIV and Napoleon both aimed at total control of their nations, just as Hitler did. The autocrats maintained their power because they accomplished what the nation wanted. In Germany, the autocratic tradition was strong. Autocrats had achieved German aims. The kings of Prussia, Frederick William and Frederick the Great, had expanded Prussian territory. The autocratic statesman, Bismarck, had successfully unified Germany. On the other hand, liberal democrats had failed the nation. The liberals at the Frankfort Assembly of 1848 had attempted to unify Germany under a constitutional monarchy and failed. Similarly, the democratic Weimar Republic of the 1920's had signed what was to Germans the disgraceful Versailles treaty and had allowed Germany to deteriorate into chaos and weakness. To Germans, the autocratic tradition had been a greater force for achieving national objectives than the democratic tradition.

Hitler's racist ideas also had their origins in western thought. Even though the West is responsible for introducing modern ideals of equality to the world, a strong undercurrent of ideas justifying inequality runs through the western heritage. The idea that there is a natural aristocracy based upon birth and breeding has persisted in all western societies. Certain men are elevated above others merely because they were privileged to be born to the right parents--an Athenian citizen rather than a foreign-born merchant, a Roman patrician rather than a slave, a medieval nobleman rather than a serf, an English industrialist rather than a factory worker. In Hitler's Germany, one was privileged to be born to non-Jewish parents.

The Nazis believed that the Aryan race was far superior to all other races of mankind. They believed that the Aryans--or the Germans--were responsible for all the major advancements of civilization. The great corrupters of civilization, on the other hand, were the Jews. The idea that the Germans were a superior race and the Jews inferior has had a long history in Germany. Tacitus, the Roman historian, first described the Germans as a blond, blue-eyed people who had exceptional strength and skill. In medieval literature, the Jew was always painted as the great enemy of Christian civilization.

Hitler derived his racist ideas from the nineteenth century thinkers Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau and Houston Stuart Chamberlain. Both Gobineau and Chamberlain claimed that they had presented scientific evidence demonstrating that the Aryans were a superior race and that the Jews were inferior. Though neither Gobineau nor Chamberlain was a German, their ideas were picked up and spread throughout Germany by the great romantic composer, Richard Wagner. Wagner popularized the myth that Germans were a superior race in his colossal operas. Many Germans were prepared for Hitler, therefore, when he enunciated his racial doctrine from the Nazi pulpit.

Though these seeds of Nazi totalitarianism had been sown in western soil, their growth into Hitler's Reich was not inevitable. The anxiety of Germans in the 1920's was required to bring fascism into full bloom. Germany in the 1920's was a nation in social, economic and political chaos. Germany's Weimar Constitution which was established at the end of the First World War was discredited from the start. The constitution had been shaped by the same men who accepted Germany's inglorious defeat and the despicable (to Germans) terms of the Versailles Treaty. Almost immediately groups were formed to overthrow the constitution by force. Hitler's National Socialist German Workers' Party was one of these groups. He and his followers had attempted a putsch in 1922 and failed. Others tried the same forceful method of overthrow.

Though the Constitution provided a measure of stability and the government was able to survive the various attempts against it, chaos reigned in political circles. At least twenty-seven different parties competed for control of the Reichstag, the German parliament, with the result that no one party ever obtained a clear majority. Loose coalitions were formed between the parties to carry on the task of governing, but they would fall apart at the slightest disagreement. This political atmosphere intensified the old conflicts between various regions in Germany and between workers and capitalists. As a result, Germans longed for the days when orderly government would return to their land.

At the same time that different ministries were coming and going in the government, wild fluctuations disrupted the nation's economy. In 1922 such hyperinflation of German currency occurred that it took a bushel-basket full of money to buy a bushel of potatoes. After this currency debacle Germany slowly but surely began to rebuild her economy until, in 1929, her credit running out and her markets drying up, Germany joined the rest of the world in general economic collapse. By 1932 nearly 6,000,000 workers were unemployed, and the deficit in the budget mounted to $400,000,000.

Into this atmosphere of instability and blight stepped Hitler, armed with his Nazi doctrine. Because the doctrine was grounded in elements of the German past--intense nationalism, confidence in autocrats, Rousseauian ideals, and racist beliefs--Hitler appeared to be within the western tradition. This was no alien "crackpot" attempting to completely alter the course of history. Hitler sincerely believed himself to be the fulfillment of western ideals. He believed he was the agent who would create the ultimate utopian society toward which western civilization had been heading for centuries.

Hitler's rise to power was the result of careful preparation. He had systematically fashioned his party during the 1920's to make it ready to seize power when the opportunity came. The party organization closely paralleled the organization of the German state. Hitler created a party cabinet which contained all the ministries of the German cabinet, such as the ministries of agriculture, justice, economy, interior, labor, and so on. He had also created two new posts to be included in the government when he took over--the minister of engineering, culture and race, and the minister of propaganda. Not only did Hitler have all the civilian organs of the government in his party organization but he had a military force as well. The Nazis recruited street ruffians and army veterans into a powerful military organization called the S.A. (Sturmabteilungen or storm troopers). This band of hoodlums maintained party discipline by beating up recalcitrant members. They also protected Nazi meetings, and terrorized those who actively opposed the party. From the most loyal members of the S.A. Hitler created his personal bodyguard, the S.S. (Schutzstaffel).

After the unsuccessful putsch in 1922, Hitler resolved not to take over the government by force but to infiltrate it by constitutional means. As the chaos intensified in Germany, more and more Germans turned to the Nazis for answers to their nation's problems. Gradually Hitler's representation in the Reichstag increased to the point where any party which wished power had to cooperate with the Nazis to obtain a majority. Hitler was finally called to become Chancellor in 1933. He immediately set out to destroy the republic and create the Nazi state.

In the guise of legality he destroyed the Weimar Constitution. Article 48 of the Constitution stated that the President could pass laws by decree if granted that power by the Reichstag. He could suspend civil liberties and use the military to carry out his program. Hitler had this power extended to the chancellor by the enabling act of March 24, 1933, and used his newly won power to completely eliminate the opposition.

Once in power, Hitler governed by brutality and terror. He systematically eliminated all those who would oppose him within and without his party by murders and violent assaults. First to go were the leaders of the storm troopers who might challenge his leadership. They were all murdered shortly after he gained control of the government in what was called "the night of the long knives." Next, newspapers and radio stations that might mount opposition to him were destroyed. Then religious leaders were carted off to concentration camps. Politicians who would not cooperate with the government found themselves captured and hauled away. Teachers and professors mysteriously "disappeared."

Free from opposition, Hitler began the construction of his totalitarian regime. Anything and everything was controlled by the Nazi party in the government. Painters could not paint, writers could not write, architects could not design without the consent of the government. Sports were nationalized and run by the Nazis. Movies and plays became state mechanisms of propaganda. Even courtship and marriage was controlled by the government, as was raising of a family. It became the citizen's duty to create offspring for the state.

A very small elite was able to impose this total control on Germany primarily because technological advances had made it possible. The radio provided a huge audience for Hitler's voice. At any one moment he could talk to every German citizen merely by standing before a microphone connected to the airwaves of the radio network. Hitler's voice was made for radio. He was one of the most spell-binding orators in history. On any day that Hitler went on the air to address the nation, the streets of normally busy cities would be deserted as German citizens sat by their radios to hear the words of the Fuehrer.

Modern communications also made it possible for Hitler and his Nazi elite to get information easily. A mere phone call would suffice to tell the Fuehrer that a problem needed attending to. Hitler could also use modern communications to tell his party workers what they should do. With such rapid communications facilities it was possible for Hitler to concentrate all of the decision making power in his own hands, for he did not have to wait days to get the information he needed for making a decision and wait still more days to make his wishes known to the German people.

As Hitler gained total control over Germany he set out to gain total control over Europe and the world. He violated the terms of the Versailles Treaty by building up his military force beyond the maximum limits set by the treaty. He militarized the Rhineland area in disobedience to the peace terms, and he got away with it. The former allied powers were either unwilling or unable to oppose him. Again, in complete violation of the treaty terms he completed the union of Austria and Germany in March of 1938. In September, 1938, he obtained possession of the western part of Czechoslovakia by out-maneuvering the Prime Minister of England and the Premier of France. The rest of Czechoslovakia was grabbed off by Hungary and Poland. Then in September, 1939, Hitler unleashed his blitzkrieg or lightning war on Poland. At this point England and France resolved to stand in his way. But they put up no effective opposition and within the year he had conquered and laid claim to Denmark, Norway, Holland, and Luxembourg. He concluded an alliance with Stalin to gain time, and then invaded France.

Within six months, France, which had so valiantly withstood the German armies for three years in World War I, fell under the might of Hitler's wermacht or war machine. Hitler then turned on Russia and penetrated deep into her interior. He began to bomb Great Britain systematically to prepare for an invasion of the island nation. He sent troops to North Africa under the command of the brilliant General Rommel to hit at Great Britain's supply route through the Suez Canal.

In fighting the war Hitler and the Nazis subjected the people of Germany and the conquered nations to cruelty and degradation. Millions of Frenchmen, Danes, Belgians, Poles, and Norwegians were uprooted from their homeland, brought to Germany, and forced to work in labor camps and German factories. Hitler was determined to see that the rest of Europe served the "master race." The cruelest measure of all was the herding of millions of Europe's Jews into concentration camps of Buchenwald, Auschwitz and Dachau. There they suffered the gravest indignities; families were separated, the men and women going into separate barracks where they were forced to live and sleep in tiny pigeonholes like so many pieces of mail. Ultimately the Jews were subjected to mass extermination in the gas chambers and furnaces of the concentration camps. In all, 6,000,000 European Jews perished in Hitler's holocaust.

Not until 1942, at the battles of Stalingrad in Russia and El Alamein in Egypt, was the relentless march of Hitler's armies halted. Not until 1944 did Allied forces invade Hitler's fortress of Europe and not until 1945 was his Reich destroyed. Hitler committed suicide in a bunker in Berlin in April of 1945, but only after he had flooded the subways of Berlin where women, children and wounded were housed to protect them from the Allied bombings. Hitler was determined that if he should perish, so should Germany.

So the little dictator died, and with him the Nazi state, leaving the world to puzzle how such a thing could have come to pass. Did Hitler's Reich have its roots in the western tradition? Most certainly it did. The Rousseauian concept of the general will combined with the aristocratic and autocratic traditions of Europe in general and Germany in particular gave rise to the "democratic tyrant" that was Hitler. This tyranny festered and fed upon the intense nationalism of the Germans. The combination may have been frightful, it may have been extreme, but it was western nonetheless. Totalitarianism is a western invention.

UNIT XVI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EQUALITY IN THE WEST

Stating the Issue

Everywhere in the modern world mankind clamors for equality. In the Union of South Africa a small group of white women maintain a vigil of silence against their government's policy of Apartheid. In the southern United States and in our northern cities masses of Negroes march, sit, and demonstrate for equal rights. In India millions of untouchables protest their lowly position in society. Like nationalism, the idea of equality generates impassioned speeches, emotional pamphlets, and the willingness to sacrifice oneself for a cause. Like nationalism, the idea of equality has seized the hearts and minds of men. And like nationalism, the idea of equality is extremely difficult to define.

The struggle for equality began in earnest with the democratic revolutions of the eighteenth century. The American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen were the first formal statements of equality by revolutionaries. Though the surge for equality has taken place in modern times, the idea of equality is as old as western civilization's Hebrew-Christian and Graeco-Roman origins. Social, political and economic arrangements, however, denied the principles of equality in practice. The medieval social system divided men into three unequal classes; absolute monarchies, like Louis XIV's, denied equal participation in political affairs; and the distribution of income according to class lines also made men unequal.

Many of the social, economic and political barriers to equality have been destroyed in the last two centuries, but, at the same time, new challenges to the concept have arisen. The pursuit of workable institutional arrangements to achieve equality has proven to be an elusive chase. This unit is concerned with that pursuit; it deals with such questions as "What is meant by equality?" "What justifications have been given for the principle of equality?" "What challenges to the realization of equality have arisen in the modern world?" and "What social, political, and economic arrangements have western nations devised to create equality?"

READING LXIII

THE IDEA OF EQUALITY IN THE WEST

The belief in equality is not automatic. Most civilizations in the past have not accepted the idea that all men are equal. The Chinese sage, Confucius, stated that there are two classes of men - the superior, intellectual rulers and the inferior, stupid ruled. The ancient Greeks considered themselves superior to foreigners - barbarians, they called them. Men of the Middle Ages accepted as the natural course of human affairs that there were three classes of men - nobles, clergy, and commoners, none of them equal to the others. Primitive societies have generally held that older men are superior to younger men and that men are superior to women. Indian civilization has divided men from men by an elaborate caste system. Virtually all civilizations, until one hundred years ago, had masters and slaves.

Despite repeated insistence that men are not equal, prophets, philosophers, politicians, and scientists in the West have asserted over and over again the idea of equality. Their justifications of equality have varied according to time and place as have their definitions. Throughout the ages, however, they have pleaded through pamphlets, books and speeches for institutions and social structures that recognize that all men are equal. Only in the past two hundred years, however, has western civilization taken the prophets of equality seriously. Only in the past two hundred years have peoples attempted to create societies that recognize the equality of men.

Reading LXIII presents some of the arguments western men have offered in the cause of equality. As you read these excerpts, consider the following questions.

1. What do the writers mean by the idea that all men are equal? Do they believe all men are the same? Do they mean that all men should be treated alike?
2. Do all of the writers agree on the same definition of equality?
3. How does each writer justify his conception of equality? Can you group the justifications of equality into two or three groups?
4. What institutional, social, and economic arrangements would each writer favor to bring about the realization of equality in practice?

EPICTETUS: THE GREEK VIEW *

Epictetus was a Greek Stoic philosopher who lived in the first century A.D.

He that has grasped how the World is ruled, has learned that this community which consists of God and men, is the foremost and mightiest and most comprehensive of all communities. That from God have descended the seeds of life, not to my father only and father's father, but to all things that are born and grow upon the earth, and in an especial manner to those endowed with Reason (for by Reason man is conjoined with God) - why should not such a one call himself a citizen of the world? Why should he not call himself a son of God? Should he fear anything that comes to pass in the world of men? Shall kinship with Caesar, or any other of the great at Rome, be enough to hedge men around with safety and consideration, without a thought of apprehension: while to have God for our Maker, and Father, and Kinsman, shall not this set us free from sorrows and fears?

THE CHRISTIAN IDEA **

The following selection is from the words of Christ, as recorded in the Gospel of Matthew.

When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.

Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand,

Come, ye blessed of my Father,
Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world:
For I was hungry, and ye gave me meat:
I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink:
I was a stranger, and ye took me in:
Naked, and ye clothed me:
I was sick, and ye visited me:
I was in prison, and ye came unto me.

Then shall the righteous answer him, saying,

Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and fed thee?
or thirsty, and gave thee drink?
When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in?
or naked, and clothed thee?
Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee?

And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.

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* THE SAYINGS OF EPICTEUTS, tr. by Hastings Crosslye, in the Harvard Classics (Collier and Son, New York: 1909), 121-122.

** Gospel according to St. Matthew, ch. 25, verses 31-40. (Dartmouth Bible translation)

THE ROMAN VIEW *

Cicero, who wrote this selection, was a Roman politician and philosopher in the first century B.C.

That animal which we call man, endowed with foresight and quick intelligence, complex, keen, possessing memory, full of reason and prudence, has been given a certain distinguished status by the supreme God who created him; for he is the only one among so many different kinds and varieties of living beings who has a share in reason and thought, while all the rest are deprived of it. But what is more divine, I will not say in man only, but in all heaven and earth, than reason? . . . Hence we must now conceive of this whole universe as one commonwealth of which both gods and men are members.

. . .And so, however we may define man, a single definition will apply to all. This is a sufficient proof that there is no difference in kind between man and man; for if there were, one definition could not be applicable to all men; and indeed reason, which alone raises us above the level of the beasts, is certainly common to us all. . . . And speech, the mind's interpreter, though differing in the choice of words, agrees in the sentiments expressed. In fact, there is no human being of any race who, if he finds a guide, cannot attain to virtue.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The Declaration was written by Thomas Jefferson and adopted by the 2nd Continental Congress in the summer of 1776.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE CITIZEN

This declaration was adopted by the French National Assembly in August of 1789 as the basic principles upon which the revolution was to be based.

Article I. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions can be founded upon common utility.

II. The aim of all political association is the conservation of the natural rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. . . .

III. Law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to assist personally, or by representatives, in its formation. . . .All citizens, being equal in the sight of the law, are equally admissible to all dignities, places, and public employments according to their capacity, and without distinctions other then their virtue and talents. . . .

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* From Cicero, THE REPUBLIC AND THE LAWS, tr. C. W. Keyes. (New York, G. P. Putnam: 1928).

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO *

The Manifesto was written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to state the philosophy of Communism. It remains the basic document of the Communist movement.

The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another. . . .

Our epoch (is) the epoch of the bourgeousie. . . .Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps. . . .Bourgeoisie (the capitalist class) and Proletariat (the urban working class). . . .The bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of modern industry and of the world-market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative state, exclusive sway. . . .The bourgeoisie. . .has left no other connection between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." . . .

The immediate aim of the Communists is. . .formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois of supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat. . . .The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system. . .that is based on class antagonism, on the exploitation of the many by the few. In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in a single sentence: Abolition of private property. . . .Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation. . . .

The proletariat. . . will (sweep). . .away the conditions for the existence of class antagonism, and of classes generally. . . .In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

* From CAPITAL, THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, AND OTHER WRITINGS BY KARL MARX, Max Eastman, ed. (Modern Library: 1932), 320-343 passim.

AN ANTHROPOLOGIST'S VIEW **

The following selection was written by an eminent American anthropologist, Ashley Montagu, who has devoted much of his professional life to the study of race.

** From Ashley Montagu, WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT "RACE," (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith) 15-16, 39.

In this selection the noted anthropologist, Ashley Montagu, argues that there is no scientific evidence to indicate that one race is superior to another.

READING LXIV

NINETEENTH CENTURY CHALLENGES TO THE IDEA OF EQUALITY

The French Revolution raised the banner of equality and set it flying over western civilization. Everywhere, men who had been accustomed to living in highly stratified societies with rigid class distinctions, began to clamor for equal rights. It was the law of nature and nature's god, they said, that all men should live in societies where the institutions made it possible to enjoy equal rights.

Though the principles of the French Revolution had become a mighty force in nineteenth century Europe and America, other social forces were also at work. New forces, such as the Industrial Revolution, and old forces, such as the tenacity with which men clung to old ideas and values, complicated the development of institutions which reckoned with the idea of equality.

Reading LXIV provides you with some evidence for assessing the impact of these old and new forces on the idea of equality. As you read these selections, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What were the barriers to the development of equality in western nations?
2. What were the sources of the barriers to equality in the nineteenth century?
3. What could be done to tear down the barriers to equality?

VOTING AND REPRESENTATION IN LOUIS PHILIPPE'S FRANCE *

King Louis Philippe of France came to the throne by revolution. The French forcibly removed the reactionary Bourbon King, Charles X in 1830 (the descendants of Louis XVI were restored to the French throne after the fall of Napoleon). The France of Louis Philippe was a constitutional monarchy. The King's power was checked by a Chamber of Deputies, who was elected in the manner prescribed by the following extract from the election law.

Title I

1. Every Frenchman enjoying civil and political rights, fully twenty-five years of age, and paying 200 francs of direct taxes is an elector, if he fulfills the conditions fixed by the present law. . . .

Title V

59. No one shall be eligible to (sit in) the Chamber of Deputies, if, at the day of his election, he is not thirty years of age, and if he does not pay 500 francs of direct taxes, . . .

67. The deputies receive neither salary nor expense money.

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* F. M. Anderson, THE CONSTITUTION AND OTHER SELECT DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF FRANCE, 1789-1907, (H. W. Wilson, Minneapolis: 1908) 513-14.

FRANCOIS GUIZOT DEFENDS THE ELECTION LAW *

Francois Guizot was the leader of the bourgeois Chamber of Deputies that sat under the reign of Louis Philippe. In the following speech he defended the electoral principles of the regime.

* From Thomas C. Mendenhall _et al_., QUEST FOR A PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY IN EUROPE, 1715-PRESENT, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1948) 150.

In this speech Guizot argues that unless a man has money he is not deserving of the right to vote. Guizot explains that wealth is the mark of ability, and hence will insure only able men voting.

AMERICA'S PECULIAR INSTITUTION **

In the nineteenth century, the United States, though independent, was an extension of European civilization. A large proportion of the American population had been born in Europe, and every American (save the Indians and Negroes) was a descendant of European ancestors. In the new land, these Europeans fashioned new institutions, among them the one described in the following selection by Frederick Law Olmsted who traveled through the South in the early 1850's.

. . .I am now about to describe what I judged to be the most profitable estate that I visited. . . . It was situated upon a tributary of the Mississippi, and accessible only by occasional steamboats; even this mode of communication being frequently interrupted at low stages of the rivers. The slaves upon it formed about one twentieth of the whole population of the county, in which the blacks considerably outnumber the whites. At the time of my visit, the owner was sojourning upon it, with his family and several invited guests, but his usual residence was upon a small plantation, of little productive value, situated in a neighbourhood somewhat noted for the luxury and hospitality of its citizens, and having a daily mail, and direct railroad and telegraphic communication with New York. This was, if I am not mistaken, his second visit in five years.

** From Frederick Law Olmsted, THE COTTON KINGDOM (New York: Mason Brothers, 1861) 193-234 _passim_.

The property consisted of four adjoining plantations, each with its own negro-cabins, stables, and overseer, and each worked to a great extent independently of the others, but all contributing their crop to one gin-house and warehouse, and all under the general superintendence of a bailiff or manager, who constantly resided upon the estate, and in the absence of the owner, had vice-regal power over the overseers, controlling, so far as he thought fit, the economy of all the plantations. . . .

Each overseer regulated the hours of work on his own plantation. I saw the negroes at work before sunrise and after sunset. At about eight o'clock they were allowed to stop for breakfast, and again about noon, to dine. The length of these rests was at the discretion of the overseer or drivers, usually, I should say, from half an hour to an hour. There was no rule.

The number of hands directed by each overseer was considerably over one hundred. The manager thought it would be better economy to have a white man over every fifty hands, but the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy overseers prevented it. Three of those he then had were the best he had ever known. He described the great majority as being passionate, careless, inefficient men, generally intemperate, and totally unfitted for the duties of the position. The best overseers, ordinarily, are young men, the sons of small planters, who take up the business temporarily, as a means of acquiring a little capital with which to purchase negroes for themselves. . . .

The whip was evidently in constant use, however. There were no rules on the subject, that I learned; the overseers and drivers punished the negroes whenever they deemed it necessary, and in such manner, and with such severity, as they thought fit. . . .

I happened to see the severest corporeal punishment of a negro that I witnessed at the South while visiting this estate. . . .The manner of the overseer who inflicted the punishment, and his subsequent conversation with me about it, indicated that it was by no means unusual in severity. . . .

"Was it necessary to punish her so severely?"

"Oh yes, sir," (laughing again.) "If I hadn't, she would have done the same thing again tomorrow, and half the people on the plantation would have followed her example. Oh, you've no idea how lazy these niggers are; you Northern people don't know anything about it. They'd never do any work at all if they were not afraid of being whipped." . . .

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND *

The coming of industrialization to England helped create such conditions as those described in this excerpt from the testimony given before a parliamentary committee in the 1830's.

Have you ever been employed in a factory? - Yes.

At what age did you first go to work in one? - Eight.

How long did you continue in that occupation? - Four years.

Will you state the hours of labour at the period when you first went to the factory, in ordinary times? - From 6 in the morning to 8 at night.

Fourteen hours? - Yes.

With what intervals for refreshment and rest? - An hour at noon.

When trade was brisk what were your hours? - From 5 in the morning to 9 in the evening.

Sixteen hours? - Yes. . . .

How far did you live from the mill? - About two miles.

Was there any time allowed for you to get your breakfast in the mill? - No.

Did you take it before you left your home? - Generally.

During those long hours of labour could you be punctual; how did you awake? - I seldom did awake spontaneously; I was most generally awoke or lifted out of bed, sometimes asleep, by my parents.

Were you always in time? - No.

What was the consequence if you had been too late? - I was most commonly beaten.

Severely? - Very severely, I thought.

In those mills is chastisement towards the latter part of the day going on perpetually? - Perpetually.

So that you can hardly be in a mill without hearing constant crying? - Never an hour, I believe.

Do you think that if the overlooker were naturally a humane person it would be still found necessary for him to beat the children, in order to keep up their attention and vigilance at the termination of those extraordinary days of labour? - Yes; the machine turns off a regular quantity of cardings, and of course they must keep as regularly to their work the whole of the day; they must keep with the machine, and therefore however humane the slubber may be, as he must keep up with the machine or be found fault with, he spurs the children to keep up also by various means but that which he commonly resorts to is to strap them when they become drowsy.

At the time when you were beaten for not keeping up with your work, were you anxious to have done it if you possibly could? - Yes; the dread of being beaten if we could not keep up with our work was a sufficient impulse to keep us to it if we could. . . .

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* From "Report of Committee on Factory Children's Labour," in PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1831-32, XV, 95-97.

SOCIAL CLASSES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY RUSSIA *

In eastern Europe, the largest of all European states was also the most backward. The changes that had swept Europe for three hundred years never came to Russia. An English traveler, Sir Donald Wallace, made the following observations in the 1850's.

*** From Warren B. Walsh, READINGS IN RUSSIAN HISTORY (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1963) 434-435.**

In this selection Donald Wallace, a traveler in nineteenth century Russia, indicates the classes into which Russians are legally divided.

EUROPEAN IMPERIALIST IDEAS **

In the late 1800's Europeans made a mad scramble for colonies in the non-western world. The following poem by Rudyard Kipling indicates the attitude of Europeans to the native populations of the areas they colonized.

**** From Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," in VERSE (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1940) 321-323.**

In this famous poem, Kipling calls upon Europeans to civilize the uncivilized peoples of Asia and Africa.

READING LXV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EQUALITY IN GREAT BRITAIN

Since the French Revolution western nations have extended equality to a marked degree. Nowhere has this expansion been more dramatic than in Great Britain. From a class-ridden society in 1800, England has so changed its institutional framework and developed social welfare legislation that it is one of the most democratic countries in the modern world.

The expansion of equality in England, as in other lands, has taken place in two ways. In the first place, equal treatment has been extended to more human beings. Whereas only wealthy commoners enjoyed equal rights with titled nobility in the early nineteenth century, virtually every man in modern England is entitled to many of the same rights. In the second place, equal treatment has been extended to more areas of human activity. One hundred years ago few men believed that all men were entitled to the same health care. Today, England boasts a national health service which provides free medical care to all people.

While equality has been expanded in almost every western nation in the last two hundred years, the achievement of equal rights has not come about in the same way in each country. In some nations, such as the United States, a civil war was necessary to expand equality to more people and to more areas of human life. In other nations, notably Russia, totalitarian governments have forced out the inequalities of old regimes. England, on the other hand, represents the achievement of equality through gradual change over a long period of time.

Reading LXV concentrates on two major issues. Part I is devoted to the expansion of equality into more areas of human activity. Part II presents a case study which illustrates how this expansion was achieved. As you study the chronology presented in Part I, consider the following questions:

1. Into what areas of human activity has equality been extended?

2. How has the definition of equality changed over two hundred years in England?

3. By what methods has equality been expanded?

PART I

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE EXPANSION OF EQUALITY IN ENGLAND: 1800-1948

1801 - Health and Morals of Apprentices Act: forbade the hiring of children for work in the cotton mills until they were nine years old, restricted their working day to twelve hours, and prohibited their working at night.

1807 - Slave trade was abolished.

1824 - Repeal of the Combination Acts, passed during the French Revolution, which forbade working men to organize into unions or political clubs.

1828 - A new "Corn Law" was passed which reduced the duty on wheat when the price was high in England and raised it when the price was low.

1828 - Repeal of the Test Act which required that every public official had to subscribe to the Anglican religion.

1828 - Catholic emancipation law gave Catholics the right to vote and sit in Parliament, provided they took an oath denying that the Pope had any right to interfere in British affairs.

1832 - The Great Reform Bill set one standard for voting and apportioned the seats in Parliament more nearly on the basis of population.

1833 - Abolition of slavery in the British colonies.

1833 - Factory Act forbade employment of children under nine years, prohibited children between 9 and 13 from working more than 48 hours per week or nine in a single day, prohibited those between 13 and 18 years old from working more than 69 hours a week or twelve in a single day. Children under 13 were required to have two days of schooling per week.

1845 - All export duties abolished and many duties reduced or eliminated on imports to encourage free trade.

1846 - Repeal of the Corn Law which set the import duty on wheat very low, abolished the import duties on all other food stuffs, and on many manufactured items.

1858 - Abolished all property requirements as a qualification for being a member of Parliament.

1858 - Removal of restrictions on Jewish participation in politics.

1867 - Second Reform Bill extended the suffrage to most of the adult males in England.

1869 - Disestablishment Act provided that the Irish no longer need pay taxes to support the Anglican Church.

1870 - Education Bill provided that all boroughs and towns had to provide primary education for all children. The government financed schools where there were none, but allowed private and denominational schools to provide the community's education in those palces where they were doing a good job.

1872 - Adoption of the Australian or Secret Ballot.

1875 - Public Health Act and Artisans' Dwelling Act set minimum standards of sanitation facilities and housing.

1880 - Employer's Liability Act granted compensation to workers for injuries that were not their own fault.

1884 - Franchise Bill extended the vote to virtually all adult males.

1885 - Redistribution Bill stated that Parliament would always be apportioned equally according to the population - all election districts were to be as nearly equal in size as possible.

1902 - Education Act extended government control and financing over all schools. Every school, whether denominational or non-denominational was required to meet certain standards established by government school committees. The Act markedly increased the number of secondary schools.

1906 - Workingmen's Compensation Act made employers liable for compensation for all workmen making less than £250 annually.

1909 - Old Age Pension Law provided a pension for poor people over the age of 70.

1911 - Parliament Bill deprived the House of Lords of veto power over a money bill.

1911 - A progressive income tax levied, taxing wealthy men at a higher rate than poor men. The Act placed heavy taxes on inheritance and income derived from dividends.

1911 - National Insurance Act provided health insurance and unemployment insurance for the working population.

1912 - A minimum wage law was passed, setting a minimum standard for wages.

1914 - A Home Rule Bill for Ireland gave the Irish their own legislature.

1918 - Universal suffrage introduced - all men over twenty-one and all women over thirty were allowed to vote.

1923 - British Dominions (Canada, Australia, Union of South Africa) were allowed to make their own treaties with foreign powers.

1928 - Franchise for women extended to include all over 21.

1946 - Bank of England brought under public ownership.

1946 - Coal mines were brought under public ownership.

1946 - National Insurance Bill extended coverage to more people.

1946 - National Health Service Act made free medical care available to everyone.

1947 - Transportation systems and electric power companies brought under public ownership.

1947 - Independence granted to India.

1948 - National Service Act brought about the first peacetime conscription of all young men.

PART II

THE PASSAGE OF THE GREAT REFORM BILL: A CASE STUDY IN EXPANDING EQUALITY

In 1830, England was the envy of all European liberals. No European nation owned such a long tradition of representative government, in no other country did the commoner have as much voice in political decision making. Yet, by the standards of modern democracy, England's reputation was undeserved. In the first place, the suffrage was restricted to a very small proportion of England's population. Generally, only substantial property owners could vote, but there were boroughs where the franchise was given to nearly all adult males. The absence of a universal standard for voting rights itself created inequality; a poor man in southeastern England might have the vote, while a man of similar station in northern England would not. In the second place, most of England's population lived in northern cities such as Manchester, Leeds and Bristol, while former thriving boroughs in southern England had become virtual ghost towns. Yet representation in the House of Commons had not been changed as the population shifted so that Old Dunwich, which had been washed into the sea sent two members to Parliament, while Manchester, a city of 130,000 people sent none.

Clearly, England was not the model of an equalitarian society. Many Englishmen, imbued with the ideas of the French Revolution, recognized this fact and set out to reform the election laws. They wished to base representation in Commons on population distribution and establish a universal standard for the franchise. The effect of this legislation was to equalize participation in political affairs. No longer would it be possible to discriminate against people because of where they lived - northerners were to have the same rights as southerners.

But the advocates of reform had some powerful enemies. Many members of Parliament had bought their seats by buying up one of the decayed boroughs of southern England. To take away their seats would be the same as taking away some of their property without compensating them for it. Moreover, the established representation in Parliament favored those who owned landed property over those who owned commercial or industrial property. The great landowners obviously were not anxious to give up their domination of British politics. Most importantly, those who opposed reform made up the majority of members in the House of Commons until 1830, while those who favored reform were mostly outside the legislature.

In 1830, however, the Whig Party which had been unsuccessfully agitating for reform for almost fifty years became the majority party in the House. The Party was determined to pass a reform measure. Yet they still faced strong opposition in the House of Commons and overwhelming odds in the House of Lords. Yet they were able to pass the Great Reform Bill of 1832 over the objections of their enemies. How the Whigs were able to bring off this feat is a classic story in the history of reform. The following extracts from letters, journals, and parliamentary debates indicate what forces helped bring about the passage of the Great Reform Bill. As you read these selections, keep the following questions in mind:

1. **What do the letters and debates reveal about the pressures for reform that were exerted upon the members of Parliament? To what pressures do the members react?**
2. **What factors made the majority of the House of Commons and the House of Lords decide upon passage of the reform bill?**

From George Gordon Andrews, PARLIAMENTARY REFORM IN ENGLAND (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1927).

This reading consists of a series of letters between various members of Parliament regarding the passage of the reform bill of 1832. They indicate the pressures that eventually led to the passage of the bills.

READING LXVI

EQUALITY IN THE WESTERN TRADITION

The idea of equality has meant different things to people at different times and places. To the citizen of Athens or Sparta it meant the equality of all citizens of that city-state, but not of foreigners or slaves. To the person living in the highly stratified society of medieval Europe, it had essentially a religious meaning: the equality of all men in the eyes of God; and to the author of the Declaration of Independence, equality was something rooted in the very order of nature, so that "the laws of Nature and Nature's God" both bore witness to its existence.

Though the conception of equality has differed from time to time and from place to place, the proponents of equality have always based their argument on one fundamental assumption: that the essential thing men have in common, their basic human nature, is infinitely more important than the things which separate and divide them. Being a man is more important than whether one is a Frenchman or a German or a primitive Hottentot. For regardless of the cultures and languages and backgrounds in which they differ, all men are at one in the possession of common human experiences: of birth and death, the physical needs of hunger and thirst, affection for one's friends and family, sorrow over the loss of loved ones. Man, and he alone among the animals, has the ability to see the humor in things and is aware of the inevitability of death and the relative shortness of life. When these things are considered, the differences in intellectual or physical capacity or training are as nothing by comparison.

What is demanded of society by the idea of equality is that every person should be treated with the dignity that belongs to him as a human being. How this will be expressed in social and political arrangements will differ from one society to another, depending on the degree of wealth and the freedom from danger and economic need the society possesses. But wherever any man becomes merely the tool or instrument for another man's gratification or accumulation of wealth or power or glorification, there the idea of equality has been denied.

The West was the first civilization to develop a philosophic concept of the idea of human equality. The Greek belief in the dignity of man coupled with the concept of citizenship in the Greek city-state is one source of the idea. The Hebrew religious tradition which condemned the luxury and idolatry of the Israelites in Palestine is also one of the roots of the modern idea. The Greek and Roman Stoic philosophers developed the idea that all men in the great Empires of Alexander the Great and Rome were linked by their common ability to reason. This one common denominator, they said, was much more important than the different institutions under which they lived or the different languages they spoke. Jesus Christ also implicitly championed the idea of equality by preaching that entrance into God's kingdom depended in large measure upon how well one has treated the poor and the outcast during his earthly life. Early in its history, therefore, the West had fully developed the idea of equality.

Equality was only rarely recognized in social structure and institutions in the ancient world. Only in the equality of citizenship in the Greek city-state and the general applicability of Roman law to all members of the Empire was the ideal recognized. Nonetheless, the tradition remained strong throughout the Middle Ages, and with the development of science in the modern world a new justification of equality was developed. Rational philosophers like John Locke postulated the idea that men were equal in the state of nature. It naturally followed, therefore, that they should be granted equal rights by organized society. In the twentieth century, anthropologists have devoted many hours to the scientific study of racial differences and have reiterated the old idea that the differences between men are as nothing when compared to the things they have in common. Throughout its history, therefore, western civilization has bred a strong belief in the idea of equality. Institutions, or the systematic patterns in which men organize their social relationships, however, are never simply the result of ideas. They are the result of the combined influence of many different factors: economic needs, political power, and class interests within a society, and war and invasion coming from without. When a society based upon democratic equality goes to war, it drafts large numbers of its citizens into the army. The principle of organization in any army capable of winning battles, is the subordination of the lower ranks to the higher and the replacement of democratic discussion by orders. The whole basis of success in modern war lies in the commitment of large numbers of men to the achievement of military objectives by their officers, with no opportunity for the men to participate in the decision making process. Consequently, the institutional structure under which a large part of the population lives in time of war is anything but equalitarian.

At a much earlier period, the pressure of external material forces upon a society's institutions may be seen in the effects of the repeated barbarian and Viking invasions during the late Roman Empire and the early Middle Ages. As a result of these invasions, Europe suffered under the gross inequality of the feudal system and the social superiority of the warrior class in the social structure. And this development took place at the very time that the Roman Empire and later Western Europe were being converted to Christianity with its religious ideals of equality of all men before God. It is true that these ideals were ultimately not without influence on medieval institutions, as the creation of the medieval city communes bears witness. But throughout a great part of its history, medieval Europe was a field of conflict between the forces making for human equality and those supporting a sharply stratified social system.

It is only at certain times, therefore, under particularly fortunate circumstances, that ideals find full opportunity to mould the institutional structure of a society. Consequently, when we examine the history of the idea of human equality in Western culture, we must remain aware of this interplay of factors of a strikingly different nature in the formation of a culture's institutions, and not be disillusioned if the idea shows less power to change the structure of society than we might expect from consideration of ideals alone. So long as the ideal exists and is held tenaciously by a dedicated group of men in some part of the society, its opportunity for social influence and eventual change of institutions remains real. It is only when the ideal itself is abandoned or replaced by another ideal of a completely different kind, that the opportunity for its realization dies.

The continuing tension between the idea of equality and the institutions of Western society may be seen at many different periods of Western history, but for purposes of closer examination we shall focus our attention on three of these: the Middle Ages, the Age of Democratic Liberalism in the 18th and 19th centuries, and the contemporary period of conflict between democracy and totalitarianism.

The early Middle Ages began with the development of a rigid class structure. In agrarian Europe this meant a sharp distinction between those of noble birth, who did the fighting and defense against aggression, and the villeins or serfs, who were considered to be suited only for the ignoble labor of tilling the soil. However, the institution of serfdom, with all the abuses to which it was subject, did mark an advance on the slavery which had prevailed in the ancient world. Moreover, the development in the power of the clergy, some of whose members were drawn from the lower class, served to check the power of the nobility and to subject their actions to a moral judgment based on a higher law than that of military might.

However, the greatest opportunity for a realization of the idea of equality occurred with the creation of the medieval communes. Liberated by their charter from the power of the feudal lord of the countryside, the inhabitants of the commune were free to make a fresh beginning. Participating in the common work of building the city, making it a center for productive enterprise, building the cathedral as a symbol of its dedication to the Christian faith, and manning the city walls in time of attack, all combined to produce a kind of rough equality among the citizens. The later Middle Ages saw the gradual decline of this equality, as the richer merchants of the cities expanded their business so greatly that they could no longer be kept subject to the guild regulations, which had been set up to maintain fair play and equal justice between one guild member and another, and between producer and consumer.

The next outstanding expression of the idea of human equality is to be found in the 18th century in the political and social thought of the Enlightenment. The ideas of the Enlightenment inspired the American and French Revolutions, and throughout the 19th century served as the basis for democratic and socialist protests against the old order.

The most politically effective formulation of the Enlightenment idea of human equality came about in the latter half of the 18th century, when Rousseau in France and Jefferson in America wrote their famous statements on the rights of man. However, while Rousseau's work was a powerful force for eliminating the privileges of the aristocracy, his attempt to secure the absolute equality of all citizens led him to subordinate completely the rights of the individual to the power of the community, even though he termed his community a democratic one. In this way Rousseau's concept of equality laid the foundation for the tyranny of the later phases of the French Revolution. And it has contributed most importantly to the logic by which fundamental human rights are suppressed in the so-called "people's republics" of today.

The Jeffersonian concept of equality was much more respectful of the rights of the individual. It was built into the framework of the American government through the First Ten Amendments to the Constitution. The Bill of Rights, as these Amendments are called, is based on the principle of placing specific limitations on the power of the State to interfere with human liberties, and thus differs sharply from Rousseau's concept of equality.

The 19th century witnessed two powerful challenges to the idea of human equality. One of these arose from the increasing value of Negro slavery to the cotton-producing economy of the South. The other, also economic in origin, derived from the degradation of the worker brought about by the Industrial Revolution and the early growth of the factory system. Although the challenge of slavery to the idea of human equality was finally resolved through a civil war which threatened to tear the nation apart, in a sense the issue still remains an American dilemma. For the full elimination of the heritage of slavery from the status of the American Negro yet remains to be achieved.

The other condition representing an affront to human dignity, the degradation of the industrial worker in the early factories and mines, was very gradually changed through the passage of factory legislation which limited the hours

6

of work and eliminated some of the worst conditions under which work was carried on. Moreover, through the increasing influence of the labor movement, as well as through social insurance, the workers began to secure a greater share in the profits which their work had helped to produce.

However, before these changes had taken place, the revolutionary protest of Marxian Communism arose against capitalism. This ideology wanted to sweep away not only the capitalist system in economics, but also the system of democratic liberalism in government, which it blamed for allowing capitalism to develop. Through its adoption by Lenin in Russia and Mao Tse-tung in China to form the basis for new revolutionary regimes, Communism has become the most powerful threat to freedom and equality which the Western world faces today. For Communism, which makes equality its one absolute goal through the creation of a classless society, divorces equality from freedom and justice in order to attain that goal. And yet by an irony of the historical process, the dismissal of freedom as a mere "bourgeois" prejudice has led to the establishment of a new privileged class in the form of the Communist bureaucracy whose power is more absolute than any before known in history.

While Marxist Communism is the greatest external threat to liberal democracy in the seventh decade of the 20th century, it is essentially a movement that had its origins in the industrial conditions of the 19th. Fascism, on the other hand, arose in the world of the 20th century and made its appeal to those classes who had seen their social position destroyed by the catastrophe of World War I. And unlike Marxism, it turns away completely from the ideals of the Enlightenment, which it regards as a source of weakness and social disunity.

While Marxism denies the human rights of those whom it denounces as exploiters, and uses the power of the State to crush all opposition to its policies, it at least claims to be making use of these measures in order to secure the rights of the working class. But Fascism, and especially its culmination in Nazism, unashamedly rejects the whole idea of human equality and bases its ideology upon the right of the "superior" race to rule the "inferior" ones.

But in a deeper sense the whole drift or tendency of all these totalitarian ideologies is to create a mass society in which all individuals become puppets to be manipulated at the will of the party or the dictator. There is to be no individual taste or preference or difference of opinion allowed to survive: all must be leveled with a steamroller of government suppression. And to add to the effectiveness of government control over the individual, the resources of modern psychology and the behavioral sciences can be employed to reach the inner recesses of his mind and his emotions.

But the same tendencies to the creation of a homogenized society are not absent from the free world. Here also the means for manipulation of human beings are carefully studied and tested, and then made use of on a grand scale through the media of mass communication. The lonely crowd of other-directed individuals is skillfully made to respond to the latest signals it receives of what is the currently approved fashion in manners and in morals. And the creation of mass demand for the products of industry through modern advertising leads to a standardization of taste in which equality becomes faceless uniformity. Under such circumstances, is it possible for the individual to survive as a vital human person or must he be merged in a mass society in which his only significance is that of another statistic in a computing machine?

UNIT XVII

THE DIFFUSION OF THE WEST

Diffusion means the spreading of cultural traits from one group to another. It occurs whenever different cultures come in contact with one another. All peoples of all times and places have borrowed from others. The blending of new, foreign ideas, institutions, and practices with old ones generates a constantly changing society.

The diffusion of culture has been going on since man first walked this planet. The civilizations of the Middle East developed largely because of the constant exchange of ideas between the various groups that moved through the region. The Roman conquerors imposed their way of life on the peoples of western Europe to such an extent that the traditions of Rome persist to the present day. On the other hand, conquering Rome also found itself borrowing heavily from Greek culture after it had subdued that peninsula. In short, cultural diffusion is not a one-way street--the conquerors are not the only ones who spread their ideas; they also learn from the conquered.

The diffusing of ideas into a society will meet with great resistance, however, if the new ideas promise a profound change in the way of life of the host culture. The Indians of the American plains borrowed the horse and the rifle from the conquering white man because these tools made them more efficient hunters of the buffalo. But they strongly resisted accepting the white man's plow and his settled way of life because agriculture would have undermined the native culture completely. Resistance to foreign ideas is even more pronounced in ancient civilizations with a long tradition of culture behind them. The Hindus of India, for example, were subject to Moslem rule for a number of centuries, but the great majority of the Indian people remained Hindu in their religion and customs rather than accept the beliefs of the invader.

In the twentieth century, western culture has been diffused throughout the world. Western ideas, institutions, and customs have pushed their way into obscure villages and teeming metropolitan centers whose people are the heirs of established cultural traditions reaching back thousands of years. This process has resulted in profound changes in the way of life of most of the people of the world. No one can understand our age without knowing about the impact of the west on other people. Readings LXVII through LXX will deal with this impact, focusing around three questions: What aspects of western culture have been introduced to the non-western world? How has western culture been transferred elsewhere? And what has been the effect of the diffusion of the West upon the remainder of the world and upon the West itself?

READING LXVII

THE DIFFUSION OF THE WEST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most diffusion between world cultures flowed from East to West. The non-western cultures that westerners visited in the late Middle Ages were far more advanced than European society. The crusaders of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries discovered that the Arabs had made great advances in mathematics and science, and Marco Polo found that China was a well governed empire with a highly developed technology. In fact, these initial contacts with the non-western world stimulated much of the innovation that has characterized western history from the thirteenth century to the present day.

By the eighteenth century, however, the tables had turned. The West had learned so well from the East that it had developed a civilization far superior to non-western lands in technology and political and economic organization. As Europe advanced technologically, economically, and politically she began to dominate other areas of the world. A wave of colonization in the eighteenth century established European control of the western hemisphere, most of India, Southeast Asia, and South Africa. By the end of the nineteenth century the West had come into contact with every land on earth and had dominated most of them. Diffusion had reversed itself--it now flowed from West to East.

How the West established contact with non-western peoples and what influence it had on the cultures of Asia and Africa is the subject of Reading LXVII. As you read the selections that follow, consider the following questions.

1. In what ways did the West establish contact with non-western peoples?
2. What changes did western contact bring to non-western cultures?
3. What aspects of the West did the peoples of Asia and Africa reject?
4. What is the relationship between how the West established contact with the non-West and what aspects of western culture the peoples of the non-western world accepted?

THE WHITE MAN COMES TO AN AFRICAN VILLAGE

The following two accounts are taken from the stories of two Africans who were present when the first white man came to their village. Selection A is the story of Baba, a woman of the Hausa tribe of northern Nigeria. The Hausa people had, for many years, been dominated by a more warlike tribe, the Fulani.

Selection B is taken from the autobiography of an African prince who lived in the Guinean village of Dubricka when the first white man came.

SELECTION A: THE STORY OF BABA *

* From Mary F. Smith, BABA OF KARO (London: Faber and Faber, 1954) 66-68.

This selection gives the recollections of a native African about the coming of the white man and the subsequent repulsion of the African tribe that had kept Baba's tribe in slavery.

SELECTION B: THE STORY OF PRINCE MODUPE **

** From Prince Modupe, I WAS A SAVAGE (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1957) 62-72.

This selection tells of how the white missionary came to the prince's village and tricked the natives into a primitive faith in Christianity by appealing to their fears and superstitions.

A LETTER FROM A CHINESE STUDENT ***

Not always did the westerner come to non-western lands. Often peoples of the non-western countries would go to Europe or the United States to study in western universities. The following letter home from one such student indicates the type of things non-westerners learned when studying abroad.

*** From Ssu-yu Teng and John King Fairbank, CHINA'S RESPONSE TO THE WEST (New York: Atheneum, 1963) 95-97.

This letter from a Chinese student tells of what he learned in universities in France and England. Generally, he talks of the political systems of the two countries.

READING LXVIII

THE VALUES OF NON-WESTERN LEADERS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Since the end of the First World War, the West has been retreating from the non-western world. Where once European countries held colonies, new nations are taking their place on the map. The former British colonies in India and Africa have been replaced by newly independent nations, each trying to make its way in the modern world. The old French, German, and American empires have also nearly disappeared.

Though the western nations have turned their empires over to the native populations, their influence still remains. In every former British colony one can find political institutions and educational systems copied directly from the former masters. French is still the national language in France's old colonies. Factories built by American industrial firms still form the nucleus of industrial enterprise in the Phillipines and other former colonies of the United States.

What influence does the West still exert on non-western nations in the twentieth century? Reading LXVIII provides some evidence for answering this question. The reading contains statements made by three prominent non-western leaders of the twentieth century. As you read these statements, analyze the frames of reference of these leaders to determine how the West has shaped their values. In analyzing their statements, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What values underlie the statements of these non-western leaders? Which of these values can you trace to western origins?
2. What aspects of the western world do these leaders seem willing to accept? Which ones do they reject?
3. Do the non-westerners interpret the western ideas in the same way that westerners have?

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU *

Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the leaders of the movement that eventually brought India her independence in 1947. From the date of independence until 1963 he was Prime Minister of India and the most respected Asian leader in the world. The following selection was written before independence in a British jail. Nehru had been sent there because he had agitated for Indian independence.

* From Jawaharlal Nehru, TOWARD FREEDOM (New York: John Day Co., 1941) 266-267.

In this selection the late Prime Minister of India states that Indians have learned much from the West, but they must be careful not to swallow everything, in particular the values of the West. At the same time he argues that India ought to accept the Western system of socialism.

DR. SUN YAT-SEN *

As leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang, Dr. Sun was the most important figure in establishing the new Chinese state after a revolution in 1912 overthrew the last member of the old Chinese dynasties. Educated in the West, Dr. Sun tried to blend both traditional Chinese ideas and western ideas in his new government. He died in 1924 without completing his plans for a modern China.

* From Sun Yat-Sen, SAN MIN CHU I, (Shanghai, China: China Committee, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1927) 98, 145-146.

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen says that China should be quick to grasp the technological advances of the Western civilization but not its materialistic values, religion, or social system.

TOM MBOYA * *

Tom Mboya has been one of the most outspoken African leaders for independence. Even though he is very young, he has become one of the most respected voices of the new generation of Africans who will guide their newly independent nations. Mboya was baptized in the Roman Catholic Church and attended schools and colleges run by the Church in his own, native Kenya. Before becoming active in politics he was a leading figure in the Kenya labor movement.

** From James Duffy and Robert Manners, eds., AFRICA SPEAKS (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1961) 16-27.

In this selection Mboya argues that Africans must be allowed to develop independently, now that they have learned of democracy from the western nations.

READING LXIX

A TURKISH VILLAGE: A CASE STUDY IN DIFFUSION

The contact between West and non-West has resulted in tremendous change for traditional societies. All the institutions of the government, the economy, and the social structure have been altered. But what effect has the diffusion of the West had on individuals? How have the broad changes in non-western societies altered the lives of those who live in the sleepy villages that dot the countryside of India, China, Africa, and the Middle East?

Reading LXIX is a case study of a village in Turkey where the introduction of western technology has disrupted the old, traditional way of life. The case is divided into two parts. The first section is drawn from the notes of a Turkish official who interviewed the inhabitants of Balgat, a village just outside Ankara, the capital of Turkey, in 1950. The second section is drawn from the interviews conducted by Daniel Lerner, an American Sociologist, in 1954. Lerner became interested in the little village after he had read the notes of the Turkish official. With these as a guide, he traveled to Balgat to find out what had happened to the village and its inhabitants. His findings dramatically illustrate what happens to people when western ideas and inventions are diffused to a traditional people. As you read Lerner's report, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What ideas and inventions from the West were diffused to Balgat? How were they diffused?
2. What changes were created in Balgat's social political, and economic systems as a result of the diffusion?
3. How had the values and attitudes of the people changed as a result of the diffusion from the West?
4. What aspects of the village society were left unchanged after diffusion had taken place?

BALGAT IN 1950 *

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* From Daniel Lerner, THE PASSING OF TRADITIONAL SOCIETY, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1958) 22-41 passim.

Lerner tells the story of the change in the values of Turkish villagers between 1950 and 1954 because of the introduction of western technology and a road.

READING LXX

THE DIFFUSION OF THE WEST

Cultures develop in two ways: by invention and by diffusion. Invention means the creation of something entirely new: an electric light bulb, a parliamentary system of government, a public school system, or a new idea about the nature of man. Diffusion means spreading something which has already been invented from one culture to another. Taking Britain's parliamentary system of government to India is one example of diffusion. There are literally millions of others.

Both invention and diffusion are taking place in the modern world at a far more rapid pace than ever before in the history of man. Each year inventors all over the world take out thousands of patents. Each one marks a new invention, usually in the technical field. These inventions spread rapidly around the world because modern nations are linked together by transportation and communication networks which continue to shorten time and space. By far the overwhelming majority of inventions have been made by westerners, by Europeans and Americans. Because the West is technically and politically advanced, much of the diffusion in the modern world takes place from the West to the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In fact, the diffusion of the West may be the most important movement of the twentieth century.

Diffusion from one culture to another has been taking place since the beginning of civilization in the fertile river valleys. At first diffusion took place only between regional neighbors, the peoples of the Upper Tigris and Euphrates Valleys giving to and taking from their peoples in the South. Gradually as civilizations expanded, diffusion took place over longer distances. The ancient Greeks found the Mediterranean Sea an avenue of commerce and ideas, spreading their civilization from one end of the Sea to the other. The Macedonian conqueror, Alexander the Great, spread Greek ideas eastward as he forged his giant empire in the Middle East. Later the Roman army conquered the remnants of Alexander's empire, carrying Roman ideas and institutions with it and transferring Greek values to northern and western Europe in return.

Until the late Middle Ages most diffusion had taken place within limited geographical regions. The river valleys and the Mediterranean Sea had furnished natural highways for the spread of ideas and institutions. Consequently great civilizations in China, India, North and South America, Africa and Europe had grown up relatively ignorant of one another. In the Middle Ages, however, diffusion began to leap across geographical barriers.

At first, most diffusion was from East to West. The agricultural revolution of the late Middle Ages employed the stirrup, the horse collar and a heavy wheeled plough, all of which were imported from the Steppes of Russia. Gunpowder, as we all know, was originally a Chinese invention. So were the silks which the Crusaders were so anxious to import into Europe. The Crusades also re-established Western contact with Alexander's old empire where the works of Plato, Aristotle, Euclid and Pythagoras had been preserved by the Arabs. But beginning at about the time of the Renaissance, the flow of diffusion shifted, with the current from West to East increasing in strength and volume. Although the West continued to receive ideas from Eastern lands throughout modern times, the impact of the West upon the East has been immeasurably greater than the reverse. The history of colonization, exploration, and the conquest of underdeveloped lands by Western nations all indicate the direction in which influence has been flowing.

Almost every aspect of Western society has been transplanted to other areas of the world. Perhaps the most obvious examples lie in the field of technology. Eighteenth Century Britain underwent a vast transformation in ways of producing goods, a transformation which spread rapidly to the rest of Europe and to America. Today these original techniques for making steel, for carrying it across vast areas on railroads and steamships, for producing mounting millions of yards of cotton cloth and for all the other technical wonders of our age have been reproduced everywhere in the non-western world. Except for a few isolated pockets in the wilds of the Amazon and at the heads of African rivers, virtually every human being alive has been touched by Western technology. In its wake has come a revolution in the way men live and in their hopes for the future.

The West has also exported its institutions. Western democracy, imitating the United States and Great Britain, has sprung up in the wake of colonists and conquering armies all over Africa and Asia. Today judges in Ghana wear white wigs in imitation of their predecessors from Great Britain, and the Parliament of Ghana is organized much like the British House of Commons. Just as much of the British Empire used England as an example, the Philippine Islands modeled its government after the United States. In addition to political institutions, western designs for business management, the organization of universities, and even family patterns have followed western citizens to the rest of the world.

Western ideologies have also made an impact everywhere. The idea of equality has recently become an almost universal desire of mankind. Born in its present form in the West, and carried in the hearts of men across all the world's oceans, the ideal of equality, and the democratic institutions which protect and stimulate it, appealed to men everywhere. So do the ideologies of Communism. Originally developed by Karl Marx in Western Europe and spread by men like Lenin to twentieth century Russia, these ideas have since been carried to China and to much of the remainder of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We sometimes forget that the idea of Communism is just as western as the democratic ideas which are its rivals. Both have been diffused from the West to the remainder of the world.

Finally, the values of western man have spread rapidly. For example, men everywhere have developed a common desire for more of the world's goods. They have also learned to value a rational decision making process of the sort which lies at the heart of the scientific method. As western literature has been read more widely in the non-western world, the western point of view about family, religion, and the nature of man have taken root elsewhere. Thus the world is becoming more and more westernized.

During the last five centuries, the West has exported its innovative ways to the rest of the world. Until recently most societies of Asia and Africa have been clamped in the grip of tradition. Earlier in their histories, China, India, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East had all gone through highly innovative periods. But by the time of the Italian Renaissance, just as medieval Europe was sitrring once more, they had begun to change more slowly and eventually moved more and more toward the traditional end of the spectrum.

The new and vigorous West soon dominated more traditional areas of the world. Western technology and social organizations proved powerful enough to win dominance. Traditional patterns of behavior could not hold out before them. Today virtually every area of the non-western world is rushing to develop the technology, institutions, social patterns, and value systems that will allow them to adjust their traditional cultures to the demands of the modern world.

Western culture has been diffused in a variety of ways. One of the most obvious is by conquest. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries England, France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands conquered most of North and South America as well as India. After 1870, all of Africa and much of the remainder of Asia fell under western sway. Conquering armies and the traders who followed in their wake diffused western ideas and institutions throughout the land they took.

Other non-western areas received an infusion of western culture through colonization. Europeans colonized all of Australia, taking the English language and English institutions with them. Similarly, the Dutch colonized South Africa, to be followed two centuries later by the British. Once again European ideas spread in their wake. The entire society of the United States grew out of Europe. The original colonists were primarily English and brought English ideas and institutions with them. They were followed by millions of immigrants who diffused somewhat different ideas from their own cultures into American life. The great variety of foods one can buy in any American city demonstrates one diverse influence of European diffusion on our daily lives.

The West has also been diffused by trade. Conquerors, colonists and western merchants all began to set up a network of trade lines throughout the world. Over these trade routes moved bicycles, clothing, alarm clocks, books, cameras and all the other products of western factories. Back came products from the non-west in return: tea, spices, rubber, paintings, and philosophy. Soon the West and the non-west became intertwined so much that no one could ever again separate them entirely.

Education, both formal and informal, has also helped to spread western ideas and institutions. Thousands of leaders from non-western countries have studied in western schools and colleges both in their own lands and in Europe and America. They have read western books and learned western ideas from them. Today movies, television shows, and radio broadcasts originating in the West have an enormous impact on the non-western world. In all these ways the West is shaping the minds of men elsewhere.

What happens when a modern western culture with an advanced technology and a sophisticated political and social system comes in contact with a land whose traditional ways remain in force? Clearly there is no one answer. Most cases of culture contact lie between the end points of a continuum. On one end of the continuum lies a complete rejection of western ways. This is essentially what happened to the American Indians who refused to adopt the ways of the white men except for his horses and guns. The Hottentots in South Africa had a similar experience and were exterminated as a result. On the other end of the scale is an almost complete adoption of the new way of life. Although no people has ever completely rejected its own past, the Japanese are near this end of the scale. They quickly adopted many western institutions and made themselves into a western-style nation within a century. Most nations lie between these two extremes. They have adopted some ideas and rejected others, changing their own culture in the process.

What happens when one culture meets another depends upon a number of factors. One of these is the size of the group involved. Hottentots in South Africa lived in tiny tribes whose life was centered around water holes. They had no large-scale political organizations to pull them together. Hence, they were easily exterminated when the Dutch, with an advanced technology, took over the water holes. On the other hand, millions of people lived in China. Europeans were able only to establish a tiny foothold on the Chinese mainland; eventually the Chinese were able to push them out entirely.

Another significant factor is the way in which two cultures come in contact. A conquered people sometimes must accept ways of life they would not adopt willingly. Wars may have a similar result. Tribes such as the Bantu in South Africa who fought fiercely for their lands against white invaders, were not likely to accept their European institutions willingly. On the other hand, non-western people who are anxious to gain the benefit of technology and find that they have a valuable commodity to trade, may find the process of diffusion mutually advantageous to both sides. Japan is a case of this sort.

Geographic environment also plays a role in the process of diffusion. It is extremely difficult to transplant European civilization to the Arctic or Antarctic continents simply because the basis of the civilization in agriculture cannot be sustained there. Similarly, Europeans have a difficult time reconstructing their life in sub-tropical areas or in the middle of the desert. They had a much easier time on the North American continent where the physical environment was quite similar to that which they had known at home. Environment at least is always a factor to be considered.

So are the points of contact between one culture and another. It is easier to promote diffusion from one society to a second if the two societies have a few things in common. But if they are entirely different - radically different political institutions, ways of making a living, family structures, values, religion - then the members of the two societies have a greater chance of becoming enemies and of failing to adopt from one group to the other. One reason why the white colonists drove the Indians before their rifles across the western plains was that the two cultures - European and Indian - had virtually nothing in common and hence could not get along side by side. Points of cultural contact helped build a bridge between one person and another.

No matter how it is diffused, western culture brings problems to people in non-western lands. Living happily for many centuries in a way of life they admire, non-western people have suddenly been forced to cope with a whole series of traumatic changes. They have been asked to leave their small patches of riceland to work in factories. They have been asked to drop the organization of their extended families, in which relatives three and four generations removed are housed under the same roof, to embrace the smaller western nuclear family of father, mother and children. Their religions have been challenged by Christian missionaries. Their princes have been overthrown by western conquerors. Their values have been undermined and their political institutions overthrown. The very tools they have used for centuries have been replaced by new ones. Out of all these changes much good and considerable evil has resulted.

The good is obvious. Rapidly rising standards of living in many parts of the world testify to the abundance which the West has diffused to other parts of the world. The use of western medicines has helped to wipe out malaria over much of the Far East and to conquer other diseases everywhere. Western ideas of justice have overthrown what seem to us like barbarous criminal codes in some countries. Western conquest has sometimes ended tribal wars which have kept whole territories of the world in constant conflict and endangered the lives of millions of people.

But with the good has come a mixture of bad. People do not like to be uprooted from traditional ways and they often resent the forces which force them to shift from one way of life to another. In some places the West has exported extreme nationalism which encourages poor Arabic and Asiatic nations to plunge huge parts of their resources into the development of an atomic bomb. The West has also exported totalitarianism both of the left and the right and the techniques and arms by which totalitarianism can be fastened upon helpless people. Western institutions, techniques and ideas have also undermined long established family ties and thrown whole systems of values into conflict. Many non-western people doubt that the cost of western ideas has been worth the gain they brought.

But for good or evil, diffusion is with us to stay. The world constantly grows closer together. The costumes men wear look more and more alike. The music they hear, the movies they look at, and the automobiles which they drive become more and more similar. Men across the world live more similarly today than they ever had in the past. Eventually, if we do not kill ourselves, with hydrogen warfare, we may become, in a cultural sense, one world. But in the meantime the diffusion of ideas, institutions, technology and values is certain to disrupt mankind and to challenge him. How well we meet that challenge may well determine whether or not mankind will survive on earth.

TEACHER'S GUIDE FOR

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY
A BOOK OF READINGS FOR INDUCTIVE TEACHING

Prepared by the

Curriculum Development Center, Project Social Studies

Carnegie Institute of Technology

and

The Pittsburgh Public Schools

TEACHER'S MANUAL: THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

A Note to the Public Domain Edition

The Teacher's Manual which follows accompanies the materials designed for a course called The Shaping of Western Society developed at Carnegie Institute of Technology's Social Studies Curriculum Development Center under a grant from the United States Office of Education. The Manual contains a statement of the objectives and philosophy of the entire series of courses for able students in grades nine through twelve, daily lesson plans, scripts of tapes, masters for transparencies, essay and objective examinations, copies of class handouts and supplementary exercises. All of this material, except for items already copyrighted, is in the public domain and may be duplicated and used by anyone for any purpose. However, none of the material may be copyrighted.

Like the student materials which the Manual accompanies, the teaching strategies and learning aids in the Manual have a number of shortcomings. We were trying to give teachers maximum aid by indicating in detail one way to use each reading in the course. Like the student materials, the lesson plans were written in 1964 and revised in 1965. Since a number of new readings were included in the revised edition, the lesson plans which accompany them are also new and untested. However, the bulk of lesson plans in this course are either plans that taught well the first time they were tried or are modifications of the original lesson plans based upon teachers' experiences with the materials.

The reader of this Manual and the manuals for Comparative Political Systems and Comparative Economic Systems will note that the staff of the Center devised a new lesson plan format for The Shaping of Western Society. After a statement of the objectives for each lesson, the teaching strategies are explained in two columns. A description of teacher and student activities for the lesson appears in the left-hand column; in the right-hand column, the relationship between the teacher and student activities and the objectives of the lesson is explained. We have found that this style of lesson plan allows teachers to be more flexible in their teaching. They have found that they can change the order of the strategies, develop modifications of the strategies suggested or develop entirely new strategies once they understand one way of achieving the objectives.

Despite this improvement in the style of the Manual, a number of shortcomings still remain. Even though we have made an attempt to spell out cognitive skill objectives in greater detail, we have not adequately described how the students will behave when they have mastered the objective. The teachers who have taught The Shaping of Western Society have found it difficult to gauge their students' progress toward mastery of the skill objectives, since they do not know what behavior they should look for.

Although the general rationale of our sequence of courses includes affective development, nowhere in this manual have we stated the affective objectives that should be realized in this course. Certain procedural objectives, such as willingness to listen and willingness to respond in class discussion, are implicit in our teaching strategies. Yet we have not indicated in the Manual that these are important objectives of the course. Further, many of the readings in the course encourage a student to compare his values with those of men who lived in other times and places. Hence, we implicitly have tried to encourage the student to reflect upon his own value system. Nonetheless, we have not stated in the Manual what progress we hope students will make toward the development of their own value systems in this course.

We have also failed to state general objectives for each unit of study. Consequently, many of the teachers who have taught The Shaping of Western Society have become confused as to how each unit fits into the general objectives for the course. As a result the students have also failed to make the progress toward our general objectives that we hoped they would.

Finally, we have not spelled out in enough detail how The Shaping of Western Society builds upon the two courses that precede it in the sequence. Though the lesson plans try to indicate to teachers the analytical questions and mode of inquiry skills the students should be able to employ as a result of having taken Comparative Political Systems and Comparative Economic Systems, we still have not indicated to teachers who may be unfamiliar with these two courses what the students have learned and what they should be able to do. Moreover, we have not spelled out how The Shaping of Western Society contributes to the courses that come later in the sequence. The dangers of these omissions to a sequential program should be obvious.

Despite these deficiencies, teachers who have used the Manual have found it helpful. They have indicated that the ideas contained in the lesson plans have stimulated them to try new approaches with these materials and with more conventional materials. The staff of the Center will appreciate the comments of colleagues who use this Manual. We hope that teachers, authors and publishers will all benefit from examining it.

A HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES PROGRAM FOR ABLE STUDENTS

Carnegie Institute of Technology

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEACHER'S MANUALS

Background

During the past six years, Carnegie Institute of Technology has undertaken a number of ventures for the development of curriculum and teaching strategies for high school students. Almost fifty Carnegie Tech faculty members have been involved. They have worked in six subject areas: the social studies, English, the natural sciences, mathematics, modern foreign languages, and the fine arts. Each project has been a cooperative effort, sponsored jointly by Carnegie Tech and public schools in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. The organization of the Social Studies Curriculum Development Center at Carnegie Tech typifies these joint ventures.

The Social Studies Curriculum Development Center was founded in May, 1963, by a grant of $250,000 from the Cooperative Research Branch of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. HEW has since made two supplementary grants. The first ($22,500) brought twelve teacher-scholars from secondary schools and colleges to the Tech campus for six weeks during the summer of 1964 to help develop materials for use in tenth grade courses and to study techniques for curriculum development. The second ($90,000) came in September, 1965, to finance the development of a full audio-visual component to the project courses.

Under the terms of these three grants, the Curriculum Development Center has agreed to develop and test an entirely new curriculum for able students in grades nine through twelve. From its inception, the Project has been a joint endeavor of Carnegie Tech and the Pittsburgh Public Schools. Two co-directors, one from Tech and one from the Schools, have equal authority for planning and carrying out the project. Teams of writers and teachers from the two institutions develop materials, try them out in the schools, revise them, and give them a second trial. They also develop teaching strategies and instruments to evaluate the success of their work. The Project will be completed in October, 1967.

By able students we mean the top twenty or twenty-five percent of a typical high school graduating class. American schools have long neglected the special needs of this particular group of students. Our materials and teaching strategies have been designed specifically to fill this gap. But preliminary trials of our courses with average students in the Pittsburgh Schools have convinced us that both the materials and teaching strategies are adaptable to this much larger group by lowering the reading level appropriately. Hence, we believe that the ways of phrasing objectives, the types of materials, the range of teaching strategies, and the sorts of evaluating instruments we have employed may be useful as models to all social studies teachers. At the same time, we acknowledge that the particular products of our present endeavor are designed specifically for the top quarter of American students.

Objectives

The staff of the Center has established four groups of objectives for the entire sequence of four courses. Two of these groups of objectives we share with all other teachers in the schools: with instructors in English, science, mathematics, the arts and so forth. The remaining two groups are specific to social studies teachers. Let us first explore the general objectives.

1. The development of cognitive skills essential to critical thinking

Every teacher in all subjects in the schools should strive to develop the cognitive skills of his students. These skills have been carefully analyzed and ranged in their order of difficulty in the well-known TAXONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES: THE COGNITIVE DOMAIN, edited by Benjamin Bloom and others. 1/ The major categories include the ability to comprehend, to apply, to analyze, to synthesize, and to evaluate. Bloom's TAXONOMY also contains sample evaluating instruments by which teachers can determine whether or not their students have mastered each skill.

We have developed materials and teaching strategies designed to assist the student to master these skills. We do not, however, claim for the social studies the sole responsibility for teaching them. On the contrary, we believe that every teacher in all subjects has an equal responsibility to teach for these objectives. As for our contribution to these general objectives, we have specified for emphasis in each daily lesson plan one or more of the skills drawn from the Bloom TAXONOMY. We have also developed a number of objective test items as well as some essay questions specifically designed to determine how well students are progressing towards the mastery of cognitive skills.

Although Bloom has arranged cognitive skills in the order of their complexity, we have found it difficult for students to master the easiest before the more complex ones are introduced. We have, however, been able to establish a rough progression from simple to complex over a three-year period. In our ninth grade work we concentrate on teaching the two simplest skills, comprehension and application. In the tenth grade we concentrate on the middle range, analysis and synthesis, and in the eleventh grade we focus our attention on the most difficult of all, evaluation. Our twelfth grade course reviews the entire range of skills and calls upon students to use them in different contexts.

2. The development of affective objectives

The second group of objectives which social studies teachers share with instructors in other disciplines lie in the affective domain. Stating these objectives succinctly and in a way acceptable to all parties in secondary education has long been one of the most troublesome aspects of curriculum development. Part of the difficulty lies in the assumption that only social studies teachers were responsible for what is generally called "citizenship training" or "civic education." In these terms most authorities include the development of a set of attitudes toward individuals and groups, a way of arriving at decisions through a rational decision-making process, a personal value system in accordance with a democratic credo, and a body of information about society and government which can serve as the basis for a rational decision-making process in personal and civic affairs. Only one of these - knowledge of content about government and society - is exclusively the province of social studies teachers. The other three - attitudes, decision-making, and values - should be shared by all teachers in the schools.

Within the affective domain fall the whole cluster of attitudes and values which are such an integral part of the process of developing good citizens. They have been carefully analyzed and arranged in ascending order of complexity in the TAXONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES: THE AFFECTIVE DOMAIN, edited by Krathwohl, Bloom and Masia. 2/ Like the TAXONOMY devoted to the cognitive domain, this volume lists affective objectives and gives examples of types of questions designed to determine whether or not they have been reached by work in the classroom.

The lower ranges of the affective objectives, receiving and responding, must be taught primarily by the way in which a class is conducted. Hence, teachers must utilize a variety of teaching techniques and ways of grouping students in order to reach them. The higher order of affective objectives involving the development of a value system and of an integrated personal philosophy of life comes from both the way a class is conducted and from the content which students read and discuss in class.

We have not attempted to select a particular value system or a particular philosophy to teach to our students. In a pluralistic society, each student should have an opportunity to develop a system of values and a personal philosophy suited to his own conception of American life. To contribute to opportunities to develop such values and philosophies, we consistently raise a number of questions designed to induce students to reflect upon their developing value systems. By the end of his senior year, each student who has worked through the material conscientiously should be able to describe his own value system and his personal philosophy in a coherent and disciplined fashion and to consider intelligently the role of values in both public and private decision making. 3/ He would not, however, be expected to share the values or the philosophy of the staff of the Curriculum Center which has designed the sequence of courses.

We have attempted to teach the full range of affective objectives contained in the Krathwohl TAXONOMY in the four years of courses designed by the Center. Both the ways in which class is conducted and the content chosen for examination have been determined partly by strategies we have devised to reach these goals. A number of objective and essay examination questions test student attainment of affective objectives. It has not been practical to concentrate first on the mastery of the lower order of objectives to the exclusion of the higher ones.

Instead, both the behavioral attitudes and the development of a coherent personal philosophy receive emphasis year after year.

3. Using the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences

Unlike attaining skills and affective objectives, which are the responsibility of all teachers in all subjects in the schools, the use of the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences lies exclusively within the province of the social studies teacher. Other teachers have parallel responsibilities: the scientist to teach scientific method, the English teacher to teach techniques for analyzing literature, the mathematician to teach the deductive processes on which mathematics is founded. Although all scientific disciplines approach knowledge with similar assumptions and techniques, the method of the social sciences has peculiarities which make it distinctive.4/ Students can master it only with repeated practice.

We draw a sharp distinction between knowledge of the method of history and the social sciences and the ability to use that method. Knowledge of the method implies only the ability to repeat from memory the steps in a method of inquiry or to recognize the method when it is described. On the other hand, use of the method of inquiry implies the ability to isolate a problem, to carry on a scholarly investigation, and to write the result with no help whatsoever from teachers or fellow students. In other words, students can use the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences only when they are able to make a completely independent and free investigation.

We stress the use of the mode of inquiry because it forms an essential part of training for continued work in history and the social sciences and for intelligent participation in American society. In his personal life, his work, and his role as a citizen a student graduated from school or college is required to make up his mind about innumerable issues. Most of his decisions require the use of a disciplined decision-making process such as that which lies at the heart of the method of history and social sciences.

In traditional high school curricula, social science method is taught - if at all - implicitly. Students read articles or books and hear lectures which employ social science methodology, but they are not exposed consciously to materials designed specifically to teach the steps of social science method. Hence, they learn them imperfectly and are frequently unable to use them as tools for independent thinking.

To overcome this handicap we have designed a number of lessons in each of our courses for the specific purpose of teaching one or more aspects of historical or social scientific inquiry. For example, the first six lessons of the tenth grade course in the Shaping of Western Society explore the ways in which historians interpret the past. A number of other lessons in each course have similar objectives. In addition, learning one or more aspects of method forms a subsidiary objective of a large number of lessons whose primary objective may be mastery of content, development of a cognitive skill, or an affective goal. We test mastery of the mode of inquiry of the historian by assigning independent research papers which require students to make investigations without help from their teachers.

As part of the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences, we help students to learn the structure of these disciplines. 5/ In recent literature the word "structure" has been used with a variety of meanings. Some scholars, for example, suggest that a structure is a collection of generalizations. Two typical generalizations might be: "People migrate when they are hungry," and "Modern revolutions are led by educated people." For these workers the structure of a discipline is the entire set of generalizations which can be derived from the discipline through empirical investigation.

Other researchers identify the structure of a discipline with a collection of its major concepts. By a concept they mean a category, that is, a range of different events or things which are treated similarly. For example, different uprisings can be placed together in a category called revolution. By this meaning the idea of a concept is primarily definitional in character. Learning the structure of the discipline, then, is learning its major concepts.

Rather than a group of generalizations or a group of concepts, we define the structure of history and the social sciences as a battery of analytical questions which can be used to order factual evidence. Defining structure as analytical questions, rather than as generalizations, is not a mere quibble. Generalizations have about them a tone of finality because they are stated in declarative sentences that vote cloture on debate. Analytical questions, however, are the tools of inquiry. Unlike statements, analytical questions suggest the possibility of relationships among facts and generalizations; they do not insist that a relationship is always present. For us teaching the structure of history and the social sciences involves two processes: the first consists of helping students to learn and use a number of analytical questions which have proved useful to historians and social scientists in the past; the second consists of helping students to learn how to generate analytical questions for themselves.

Defining structure as analytical questions implies that there is no single correct structure. Moreover, throughout his life a scholar's conception of structure will change. As he learns more, he will ask new analytical questions suggested to him by the research of others. He will also improve his own ability to let an unexplained fact generate a new analytical question, giving him fresh insights into his data. In this sense the structure of the discipline is an integral part of its mode of inquiry. The excellent historian can be distinguished from the hack in part by the quality and quantity of analytical questions which he puts to his data.

Throughout the four years of the curriculum we have endeavored to help students learn a number of analytical questions drawn from the social science disciplines and to develop skills in asking their own analytical questions. Although there are thousands of questions appropriate to investigation in social science research, we have tried to organize each course around a few key analytical constructs. The course in Comparative Economic Systems, for instance, revolves around four major issues: what goods and services should be produced?, how should goods and services be produced?, for whom should goods and services be produced?, and what relationship exists between a society's value system and the way in which it answers the previous three questions? Only in the broadest and most general sense do these four questions define the structure of economics. They indicate the major issues involved in the essential economic problem, the problem of scarcity, but they are only the sketchiest guide to an attempt to understand the problem. Each large analytical question, such as these, implies a series of sub-questions, each of which helps to organize data. Yet beginning to study with a small list of major analytical categories in mind proves most helpful to students. It is these major analytical categories, the sub-questions they imply, and the ability to ask one's own questions which we define as the structure of history and the social sciences.

As part of the mode of inquiry, analytical questions prove most useful in the process of developing hypotheses. The facts never speak for themselves. They are ordered by each student in accordance with his own frame of reference. A host of fruitful analytical questions increases the bounds of that frame of reference and multiplies many fold the likelihood of a fruitful hypothesis. We increase our store of useful knowledge in both our personal and professional lives by developing and validating new hypotheses. Hence the study of the structure of history and the social sciences should form a vital part of the education of every young American.

4. Knowledge of selected facts and generalizations from history and the social sciences.

Like the ability to use the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences, knowledge of the content of these disciplines is an exclusive obligation of social studies teachers. The staff of the Curriculum Development Center has tried to face squarely the difficult problem of establishing criteria for the selection of content. In some ways what we teach has been determined by our other three objectives: knowledge of cognitive skills, affective objectives, and the ability to use the mode of inquiry. But we could reach those goals using facts and generalizations from any past society. Hence we were forced to establish three additional criteria for the selection of content. 6/

Our first supplementary criterion is the interest of the child. Over and over again in one course after another, we have tried to tie our selection of content to issues which are of vital concern to intelligent adolescents growing up in American society. One such concern, for example, is the way in which young people allocate their own time among a number of competing demands. By asking them to keep a careful record of the way in which their time is spent for several days and then to reckon the cost, in terms of giving up some of these activities, to devote a few hours each week to politics, we bring the issue of political activity within the context of a child's average day. We also try to raise a number of ethical and moral problems, each in its own social setting, which press upon modern young people. In so doing we are striving for affective goals - the development of a coherent value system and a personal philosophy - using as our starting point the kinds of issues about value and philosophy which trouble young people today.

We also let some of the problems of contemporary society guide the selection of content. We choose to study economic growth in Great Britain partly because economic growth is such a vital matter in the entire underdeveloped world. We look at the impact of modern technology upon traditional cultures for a similar reason. All over the world today cultures are in rapid transition because Western ideas and Western technology are transforming them. If students are to understand their modern world they should have an opportunity to study its major problems, and to look at the way other societies have met similar problems in the past.

Finally, we have chosen some content areas to assure knowledge of a small corpus of knowledge about society which any educated American living in the mid-twentieth century should have. Our curriculum has been designed for able students, most of whom will go to college. In the society in which they live and will live in the future, intelligent people share a pool of information. They all have read, or should have read, Pericles' Funeral Oration. They all know the meaning of the term "Machiavellian." They are acquainted with the works of Shakespeare and Petrarch and Bismarck. Whenever possible, we have selected readings which touch upon the lives or works of outstanding men from all over the world in order to help our students build up the corpus of knowledge common to intelligent people everywhere.

Teaching Strategies

Objectives imply teaching strategies. Scholars have accumulated plenty of evidence to indicate that students at the end of a course know just as many facts and generalizations if they have attended lectures and read textbooks as they do if they have participated in small discussion groups. 7/ If the major objective is to teach quantities of facts and generalizations, then expository teaching to large groups seems to be the most efficient method. On the other hand, if we wish to determine whether or not students can use the mode of inquiry independently of their teacher, we must launch them on a historical investigation entirely on their own.

Because our objectives are diverse, we have been unable to employ any single teaching strategy to the exclusion of others. Instead we have used a whole range of strategies from "pure" exposition to "pure" discovery methods. A number of readings scattered throughout all four years of the curriculum are narrative and expository in form. They tell students about the structure of American governmental institutions and contrast them with Russian governmental forms. They summarize a century or two of European history as succinctly as possible. Similarly, many slide tapes have been designed to convey a maximum quantity of information through both sight and sound. Expository techniques, since they are efficient and sparing of time, seem by any standard the best way to provide students with factual information which they must master.

Expository techniques, however, are not suitable to many of our objectives. For example, a number of our affective objectives require discussion techniques to be used in the classroom. A teacher cannot know when every student in a large lecture class is listening attentively or responding willingly to what the lecturer is saying. A discussion class provides far greater opportunities for a teacher to assess these affective goals. Similarly, a teacher can assess the ability with which students use the cognitive skills which Bloom has classified through gauging their contributions to discussion classes. In a discussion class students can be called upon to analyze or synthesize or extrapolate using material which they may not have seen before.

But if we are to give each individual student a chance to utilize the skills and abilities which he has been learning, we must give him opportunity for individual work. Hence we frequently ask students during discussion classes to pause for four or five minutes to write an hypothesis or draw together--synthesize--a conclusion from scattered evidence. In the eleventh grade course we consistently ask students to come to class prepared to ask four or five analytical questions drawn from the ninth and tenth grade courses which are useful in the analysis of fresh material. Independent research papers also call for each student to work on his own. Only when he can work independently is a student a free investigator. Only free investigation will yield independent judgment. Teaching strategies must build this independence. 8/

Materials

Both objectives and teaching strategies imply a variety of materials. We have provided materials of a very wide range from expository articles and slide tapes on one end to discovery exercises which present only data from which students can build hypotheses on the other. This range of materials is important not only to accomplish specific objectives but also to break the deadly monotony of teaching technique which characterizes so many social studies classrooms.

Most of the courses in our sequence are built entirely from individual readings, each of which begins with an introduction and several study questions. In only one course - the eleventh grade Advanced Placement American History course - do we utilize a conventional text. Even here we have chosen the shortest excellent college text which we could find in order to encourage students to develop their own skill in interpreting the past. Each reading, however, has been chosen with great care to be certain that it contributes to an overall understanding of the subject with which it is concerned.

The types of material in each book of readings vary widely. As we have already indicated, a few readings are simple expositions designed for efficient learning of information indispensable to other aspects of the course. Other readings may contain a biography of a person typical of a particular period or development, a group of charts or tables containing statistical information from which generalizations can be drawn, an analytical article written by a historian or social scientist, or any of a number of other sorts of materials. This great variety interests students intrinsically and provides them with essential opportunities to learn how to handle the enormous range of materials which they will be reading for the rest of their lives.

We frequently supplement reading done as homework in preparation for class discussion with two additional sorts of materials: class handouts and audio-visual aids. By a class handout we mean a mimeographed page or two of information used to focus class discussion. Occasionally this information consists of a discovery exercise. For example, we have printed eight quotations from writers who lived in the United States in the 1830's from which students are asked to make hypotheses about the nature of Jacksonian democracy. We have also mimeographed ten tables about the American economy during the 1920's from which students are asked to develop an interpretation of the cause of the depression. Both of these sets of materials and many others like them build upon homework assignments done in the readings book and contribute to the development of skills and abilities as well as to objectives in the affective domain by the way in which they are handled in class.

A complete kit of audio-visual equipment supplements this written material. In each course we have a number of tapes, slide tapes, single concept filmstrips, and transparencies for the overhead projector. In each case we have tried to use an audio-visual aid only when a particular point can be made better with sight or sound or a combination of the two than it can with the printed word. Like class handouts, and like a variety of printed teaching materials, audio-visual aids break the monotony of typical classroom procedure. They can also present some types of data far more efficiently and with greater intellectual impact than they can be presented in any other way.

The Cumulative Sequence

The four-year sequence of courses had been planned so that the student will be required to employ the skills and knowledge acquired in one course in succeeding years. Each course has been designed to build upon the previous ones, developing the intellectual skills and using the structure of the discipline for further investigations. The overall effect of four years of study is the cumulative development of a more and more sophisticated frame of reference, drawing upon an ever-increasing store of experience.

The content for the four years has been carefully chosen to obtain this cumulative effect. The first course in the sequence, designed for the ninth grade, is called Comparative Political Systems. It compares a primitive government of American Plains Indians with the contemporary governments of the United States and the Soviet Union. In each instance we examine the nature of leadership, decision-making, the role of the individual citizen and the ideological foundation of the political structure. The course in Comparative Economic Systems, designed for the second semester of the ninth grade, compares a traditional economy with a system where most decisions are made in the market (the United States) and a system where most decisions are made by command (the Soviet Union). For each system we focus upon the way in which the basic economic questions - what, how and for whom - are answered. We also examine the relationship between the base society's value system and the way in which it answers the basic economic questions.

The course designed for the first semester of tenth grade is called The Shaping of Western Society. It consists of seventeen units, each focused upon a major problem of historical interpretation. Throughout the year we are interested in the problem of change over time. Hence, students investigate changes in four areas of western society: politics, the economic system, the social organization, and patterns of thought. Two of these themes draw directly upon the structure of political science and economics which students have studied during the freshman year. The other two, touched upon briefly in ninth grade, are developed fully for the first time in this course.

Studies in the Non-Western World, designed for students in the second semester of tenth grade, has been organized around four units: South Africa, China, India and Brazil. In each unit students study the traditional culture before the impact of the West, examine the way in which particular Western ideas and institutions were diffused to the society and analyze one major contemporary problem. For China we study the problem of totalitarianism, drawing on key threads from the political science course and from the first semester of the tenth grade. For India, economic growth and development is the key issue. Here students use the structure from the course in Comparative Economic Systems and from several units in the first semester of tenth grade. The South African unit emphasizes the problems of apartheid. It contrasts the theme of equality against inequality which was introduced in the Shaping of Western Society. The study of Brazil encompasses many themes from the first semester and raises basic questions about the contemporary population explosion.

The eleventh grade Advanced Placement American History course has four major themes: the development of the American economic system, the growth of the American political system, the changing American social structure, and the reflection of these developments in the American intellectual tradition. Throughout the course students use analytical questions they have learned in ninth and tenth grades. Using these questions provides both a review and a device for deepening a student's understanding through using information in a new context.

The development of the skills and abilities identified by Bloom in the TAXONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES has also been arranged in cumulative and sequential order. Although it is impossible to develop one's skill fully before a more difficult one is begun, we have attempted in each of the first three years of the sequence to concentrate upon skills in roughly sequential order. Similarly, but with less chance of success, we have tried to concentrate our attention in the affective domain in an ascending order of difficulty over the four years of the curriculum.

In each succeeding year of their work, students are thrown more and more on their own to pursue independent investigations. The first year's course in Comparative Political and Economic Systems is tightly structured to teach essential skills, a mode of inquiry, and a battery of analytical questions drawn from political science and economics. Because students are expected to use this new knowledge and skills in the tenth grade, the course is less tightly organized. The eleventh grade course encourages even greater freedom for each student and involves a larger number of discovery exercises and assignments in which students are to bring analytical questions to bear upon the data presented in their reading. Thus the cumulative sequence has been designed to prepare an evaluating device by which the teacher can judge roughly the degree to which students have mastered material.

In order to teach a course late in the sequence, teachers should know what their students have learned in earlier years. The best way for a teacher to put himself in the student's shoes is to read the material written for the previous courses. Unless he does so, much of the effect of the sequential and cumulative curriculum may be lost.

Supplementary Materials

Most high school semesters are eighteen weeks long. We have provided readings in each course for from fifteen to seventeen weeks. This procedure encourages each teacher to develop materials for an additional week or two on his own or to use one or more of the supplementary projects developed by our staff. Most creative teachers want to include work about some topics in which they are specialists. This sort of flexibility has been provided by including a smaller quantity of reading material than is usual in typical high school courses.

Each week's work has been organized around four readings, leaving the fifth day of each week free. It can be utilized in a variety of ways. Since a battery of short examinations has been provided, many teachers may choose to use part of the fifth day for examinations. Others may wish to discuss current events. In addition, we have provided with each course suggested supplementary readings or exercises which the students can do independently for their fifth assignment each week. During the first semester of ninth grade, students may read from a large collection of articles from current periodicals which can be provided inexpensively in the library. For the economics course they do a number of exercises derived primarily from newspapers. In the first semester of tenth grade they learn to use the library, to write a book review, and to do a controlled research paper. In the second semester of that year they read and review two novels and write an independent research paper in the library. A substantial outside reading program, drawn from recent literature in American history, has been provided for the eleventh grade Advanced Placement course.

Evaluation

A complete battery of objective and essay tests has been provided for all of the courses in the sequence. The testing program has been closely coordinated with the objectives. Short objective quizzes check the recall of factual information and are designed mostly as policing devices to make certain that students read their assignments regularly. Objective examinations usually covering about two week's work have been designed primarily to check knowledge of structure, the development of skills and abilities, certain affective objectives and the knowledge of content drawn from two or more readings. Essay tests, usually also covering two week's work, assess the ability of a student to write history and the social sciences effectively and to use the skills and abilities as well as the mode of inquiry which he has learned.

Two additional types of evaluation require brief comments. The independent research papers which a student writes are the primary evaluating instruments which determine whether or not he can use the historian's method of inquiry well. Only when he can do an independent investigation has he really learned this vital art. The other major evaluating device available to teachers is the degree of skills which students show in class discussions. The constant interplay between teacher and students in small groups often enables a teacher to assess the ability with which his students can utilize the skills they have been taught. Teachers should never overlook the vital contribution of class discussions as evaluating devices.

Maximum Teacher Aids

Like the new curriculum projects in mathematics and the sciences, the four courses in this sequence will be accompanied by maximum aids to the teachers. This elaborate explanation of what we are doing is the first such aid but it does not meet the full obligations of curriculum developers to teachers. Only model daily lesson plans can do so.

This series of courses is substantially different from those that fall within the experience of most teachers. The objectives are different, the teaching strategies are different, the materials are different, even the grouping of students is different. Because so many variables have been changed, the designers of the course feel obliged to indicate to teachers at least one way in which to handle this new context for teaching. We do not intend that lesson plans should be restrictive. Quite the contrary. Teachers should depart substantially from lesson plans or ignore them completely when they decide to work toward other objectives with particular materials. As designers of materials, however, we have felt obliged to indicate one tested way of reaching specified objectives with a particular teaching strategy, set of materials, and grouping of students called upon for a day's work.

The teacher's manual which follows this introduction contains a model lesson plan for each day of the school year. Any creative teacher could develop a number of alternative ways to handle the same material for either the same objectives or for other ones which he might consider appropriate. But beginning teachers or teachers who are embracing quite different materials and teaching strategies for the first time often find model lesson plans extremely useful, particularly in the midst of their busy academic schedule. Hence all teachers are invited to use the teacher's manual as they see fit. The alternatives range from following it precisely day by day to ignoring it completely. Most people will fall along a continuum somewhere between these two extremes. Even teachers who wish to go their own way entirely may find it helpful to look at lesson plans from time to time, partly as a reminder about the relationships of objectives, materials, and teaching strategy and partly as a possible source for new ideas.

Conclusion

We encourage criticism of our overall philosophy, of the materials we have developed, and of our teaching strategies. The Center has already benefited considerably from the comments of teachers who have tried out our courses in experimental form. We invite other teachers to join this dialogue.

Footnote References

1/ Benjamin S. Bloom et al., TAXONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES: THE CLASSIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL GOALS: HANDBOOK I: COGNITIVE DOMAIN. New York, 1956. We have chosen this standard system of classifying cognitive skills in preference to a more recent and in some ways more provocative scheme proposed in the following article: Robert H. Ennis, "A Concept of Critical Thinking," HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, XXXII, 1 (Winter, 1962), 81-111.

2/ David R. Krathwohl, Benjamin S. Bloom, Bertram B. Masia, TAXONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES: THE CLASSIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL GOALS: HANDBOOK II: AFFECTIVE DOMAIN. New York, 1964.

3/ For a provocative discussion of the manner in which the role of values has been neglected in traditional social studies textbooks see James P. Shaver, "Reflective Thinking, Values, and Social Studies Textbooks," THE SCHOOL REVIEW, Vol. 73, No. 3, (Autumn, 1965), 226-257.

4/ Innumerable volumes discuss the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences. One useful summary for students is Paul L. Ward, A Style of History for Beginners. Service Center for Teachers of History, American Historical Association, Washington, 1959.

5/ Some of our conceptions of structure have been drawn from Jerome Bruner, THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION, Cambridge, 1960; Joseph J. Schwab, "The Concept of the Structure of a Discipline," in THE EDUCATIONAL RECORD, XLIII, July 1962, 197-205, also in PROFESSIONAL REPRINTS IN EDUCATION, #8001, (Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc. Columbus); and Lawrence E. Metcalf, "Teaching Economic Concepts in the Social Studies," THE COUNCILOR, XXI, I (March, 1960), 24-31.

6/ For a radically different set of criteria for the inclusion of content see Donald W. Oliver, "The Selection of Content in the Social Studies," HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, XXVII, (Fall, 1957), 271-300.

7/ John W. Kidd, "With the Technician," JOURNAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION, Vol. 33, November, 1962, 440-444.

8/ Six films demonstrating inductive teaching of materials developed at the Tech Social Studies Curriculum Development Center are available through Holt, Rinehart and Winston Co., 383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N.Y. In March, 1966, Holt will publish a social studies methods volume (Edwin Fenton, TEACHING THE NEW SOCIAL STUDIES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS: AN INDUCTIVE APPROACH) based upon teaching strategies used in the Tech Center.

A WORD ABOUT THESE LESSON PLANS

As you will quickly notice, the style of our lesson plans has been evolving, and you have in this collection the latest of the permutations. What we hope we have accomplished is a teacher's manual that will be of greater aid to you as you plan your own classroom strategy to achieve the objectives of each lesson.

At the top of each page, as in the past, the subject and skill objectives for each lesson plan are listed. You will find that we have written these in considerable detail. You should notice, in particular, that the skill objectives go beyond Bloom's simple statements to tell you exactly what is to be interpreted, extrapolated, applied, analyzed, synthesized or evaluated and in what terms. We have adopted this approach so that you can more easily evaluate whether or not your students actually do employ these skills during the course of the lesson, and, in fact, begin to change their cognitive behavior as a result.

As to the section on procedures, you will notice that each lesson plan has been written in two columns. The left hand column gives a brief description of what the teacher should do, what questions he should ask, or what directions he should give to the students. The right hand column tries to explain each question or teaching activity in terms of how the strategy is related to the objectives of the lesson and in terms of what student behavior is desired or anticipated. The questions and suggested activities have essentially two aims. Primarily they are designed to stimulate learning. Secondly they are sometimes designed to help the teacher find out whether or not his students have learned the concepts or the skills that are stated in the objectives. In rare cases they serve the double function of stimulating an activity or thought process that will help the student learn and also give the teacher evidence upon which he can base his evaluation of the student's progress.

In using the lesson plans for preparing for class, the teacher should concentrate on how the teaching strategies suggested are designed to teach the objectives set for the lesson. In many cases the teacher might find that another strategy might reach the objectives more surely and efficiently. In these cases the teacher should feel free to depart from the strategies suggested by the lesson plan and develop his own ideas of procedure. In no case should the lesson plan be regarded as the basic rock upon which the project is founded. They have been written the way they have to suggest to teachers what kinds of inductive teaching strategies might be employed in achieving the objectives of each lesson and, in a larger context, the entire course.

One final note. You will also note that the writers have made conscious attempts to vary the classroom activities within each lesson and from day to day. These attempts have been made to accomplish two purposes. The first, and most obvious, is to break down the monotony that proceeds from one entire class period devoted to one kind of activity. The second purpose is to give the students ample opportunity to write into their notes what they learn as they go along. This notation process is at the heart of inductive teaching, for when the student makes a discovery on his own he should be encouraged to articulate that discovery in his own words.

COURSE RATIONALE

for

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

The Shaping of Western Society is the third semester course in a four year sequence of high school social studies courses for able students. It has been designed to follow two one-semester ninth grade courses in *Comparative Political Systems* and *Comparative Economic Systems* which the social studies curriculum development center at Carnegie Institute of Technology has also developed. *The Shaping of Western Society* deals with selected topics in the history of Europe from the classical period to the twentieth century. The course builds upon the cognitive skills and substantive knowledge which the students have acquired in the two ninth grade courses.

In the ninth grade the students were taught to ask some basic analytical questions asked by political scientists and economists. In *Comparative Political Systems* they were taught to ask "Who are the leaders and how are they recruited?" "What factors influence decision making in the political arena?" What is the role of the individual in the political system?" and "What is the role of ideology in the political system?" In *Comparative Economic Systems* the students were taught to ask "How is it decided what goods and services to produce?" "How is it decided how to produce these goods and services?" and "How is it decided for whom to produce them?" The students who take *The Shaping of Western Society* will find these questions extremely useful as they study the political and economic history of the West. Several units have been included in this course to reinforce the use of these questions.

The ninth grade courses also introduce the students to three types of political systems--traditional, democratic and totalitarian--and three types of economic systems--traditional, market and command. *The Shaping of Western Society* builds upon this conceptual framework by concentrating the process whereby the relatively traditional society of medieval Europe was transformed into a more innovative society. For example, several units of the course are devoted to the breaking down of the traditional political system of the Middle Ages and the development of more innovative democratic and totalitarian systems.

In *Comparative Political Systems* and *Comparative Economic Systems* the students also develop several cognitive skills. Though all of the cognitive skills outlined in Benjamin Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* receive some attention, the two courses concentrate mainly on skills of analysis. The tenth grade course is designed to reinforce these skills.

The objectives of The Shaping of Western Society have been designed to build upon the knowledge and skills introduced at the ninth grade level. The four main objectives of the course are:

1) To see that the student knows and can apply the historian's mode of inquiry to construct and test hypotheses with historical evidence.
2) To see that the student knows and comprehends how western society changed from a relatively traditional society in the Middle Ages to various forms of more innovative societies; and to see that the student comprehends what problems the development of a more innovative society has created for modern man.

3) To develop the student's ability to synthesize.
4) To see that the student knows and can apply four analytical questions for analyzing the social structure of a community, namely: "What are the social groups in the community and how are they determined?" "What are the privileges and responsibilities of each group?" "How does one gain admittance to each group?" and "How, and under what circumstances, do members of the various groups come into contact with one another?"

These four objectives have determined the selection of content for this course. Unit I acquaints the student with elements of the historian's mode of inquiry. The student will then be called upon to use these techniques throughout the remainder of the course. To further this objective the readings generally contain selections from primary sources. In order to comprehend what these sources reveal about the history of the West, the student will have to apply the historian's techniques for developing and testing hypotheses. In learning to use the historian's mode of inquiry, the student will acquire more than a mere knowledge of what happened in the past; he will also learn how to think historically. The ability to think historically must not be reserved only to professional historians. Mr. "Everyman" must be able to think historically as well. Mr. "Everyman" ought to be able to develop hypotheses about human experience from fragmentary evidence; Mr. "Everyman" ought to know how to test these hypotheses with evidence; Mr. "Everyman" ought to be able to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant data; Mr. "Everyman" ought to be able to use the perspective of time in making qualitative judgments about the importance of events and conditions in the past; Mr. "Everyman" ought to be able to determine the reliability of evidence; and Mr. "Everyman" ought to be able to draw relationships and make comparisons between two or more aspects of recorded human experience. In short, the ability to think historically makes Mr. Everyman capable of learning, and profiting from the experiences of men who have lived in other times and places.

The second objective stated above has largely determined what aspects of western history will be studied in this course. Units two through four introduce the students to the classical innovative societies of Greece and Rome and the more traditional society of the Middle Ages. The next eight units concentrate on the various changes that transformed traditional western society into our modern innovative society. The final six units deal with some of the ways modern man has tried to cope with the problems of innovative society. Each of the units is designed to last one week. Each unit contains four readings. The first three readings consist largely of selections from primary sources. The final reading is a summary essay written by the staff of the curriculum development center.

The passing from traditional to innovative society is only one of a number of themes that might be chosen for a course in the history of western civilization. We have decided upon this theme, however, because we believe that it is a convenient way of giving the student a perspective of how his society fits into the history of mankind. Hopefully he will learn that his innovative society developed from a traditional culture, quite unlike his own, by a slow, arduous, and often painful process. Knowing how difficult the long process of change has been in the West, he will be better equipped to compare the experiences of non-western peoples with the experiences of his forebears. He should then be able to comprehend the difficulties non-western societies face in the twentieth century as they attempt to compress the six hundred year experience of the West into a few decades. Armed with this frame of reference, the student should be able to understand and appreciate the problems that change imposes upon the human condition.

The readings in this course have been constructed to help students synthesize hypotheses from several pieces of evidence. Building upon the skills of analysis developed by the ninth grade courses, the Shaping of Western Society hopes to carry the student one more step up the heirarchy of cognitive skills outlined by Bloom's Taxonomy. Most of the readings in this course consist of multiple selections from primary sources. The student must develop skill in synthesizing explanations from various pieces of evidence in order to construct hypotheses from these readings.

Finally, the content of several units has been determined by our fourth objective.

Reading XVII ("The Medieval Social System") introduces the student to the questions for analyzing the social structure of a community. He will be called upon repeatedly throughout the course to use these analytical questions when examining the social structure of other societies. This battery of analytical questions will be added to those questions developed in Comparative Political Systems and Comparative Economic Systems. By the time the student has finished the third semester in the sequence, therefore, he will have been taught to ask questions which will help him analyze any social, political, or economic system.

Having completed his study of The Shaping of Western Society the student will hopefully have added several new components to the intellectual equipment he began fashioning in the two ninth grade courses. He should have developed the ability to think historically, he should have acquired a new perspective for studying human affairs, he should have developed the ability to synthesize explanations from several pieces of evidence, and he should have learned how to ask a new set of analytical questions for examining the social structure of a community. This new intellectual armor will help him in the courses to come as he applies his knowledge and skills to the study of non-western peoples and the history of the United States. As he continues to use his new armor we hope he will become so accustomed to it that he will not shed it when he enters adult life.

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

Teacher's Check Sheet of Materials

Rdg. #	Title of Reading	Audio-Visual Aid	Examination	Handout and Supplementary Assign.
1	The Nature of History	4 transparencies		Supplementary Assignment #1
2	Evidence and Inference: Proving a hypothesis	Tape: "Digging the Weans"		Handout: "The Stone is a Fraud"
3	How the Historian Decides What is Fact	1 Transparency		
4	How the Historian Asks Questions			
5	The Problem of Mind Set	1 transparency		
6	What is History	1 transparency	Paper due	
7	The Athenian Way of Life	Tape: "Greek Meets Greek"		Supplementary Assignment #2
8	Athenian Values	Slides: "Greek Values and Greek Art"		
9	The Athenian Constitution			
10	The Heritage of Greece		Obj. Test #1 Rdgs. 1-10	
11	In the Days of Caesar Augustus	University Prints		Supplementary Assignment #3
12	How Rome Ran Her Empire	Transparency		
13	The Roman Empire and Christian Citizens			
14	The Roman Empire	EBF Transparency "Essay Exam"	Essay Test #1	
15	The Medieval Political System			Supplementary Assignment #4
16	The Medieval Economic System			
17	The Medieval Social System			Handout: "Analysis of Medieval Social Classes"
18	Traditional European Society	Photo Essay: "The Medieval Cathedral"	Paper due next day	
19	The Emergence of the Renaissance			Supplementary Assignment #5

Rdg. #	tle	Audio-Visual A	Examinations	Handout and pplementary sign.
20	An Artist of the Renaissance	Slides: "Medieval and Ren. Art"		
21	Three Renaissance Writers	Slide Tape: "The Renaissance Spirit"		
22	The Renaissance		Essay Test #2	
23	A Milestone in Constitutional Government			Supplementary Assignment #6
24	The Development of Parliament Under Edward I	Transparency Set - "Factors Affecting Growth of Parl."		
25	Seventeenth Century Constitutional Developments			
26	The Growth of Parliament		Obj. Test #2 Rdgs. 16-26	
27	An Absolute Monarch in Action	Slide Tape: "Versailles, Palace of the Sun King"		Supplementary Assignment #7
28	Mercantilism: The Economic Side of Absolutism			
29	Divine Right in Theory and Practice	Transparency Set: "Social Structure"		
30	The Anatomy of Absolutism	Slide Tape: "Versailles, Palace of the Sun King"	Obj. Test #3 Rdgs. 27-30	
31	Medieval Science			Supplementary Assignment #8
32	The World of the 17th Century Scientists			Handout: "Chronology of Science"
33	The Nature and Significance of the Scientific Revolution	Transparency Set: "Why is Sea Water Salty?"		
34	The Scientific Revolution	Transparency: "The Ptolemaic Universe"	Essay Exam #3	
35	The Emergence of the Market	Transparency: "The Medieval Economic System"		Supplementary Assignment #9

Rdg. #	Title	Audio-Visual Aids	Examinations	Handout and Supplementary Assign.
36	The Development of the Market - A Case Study			
37	Adam Smith: The Philosophy of the Market	Transparency: "The "Criteria for a Competitive Industry"		
38	The Development of the Market Economy		Obj. Test #4 Rdgs. 31-38	
39	The Revolution in Men's Minds	Transparency Set: "Variables in Political Theory"		
40	Criticisms of the Old Regime			
41	Leadership in the French Revolution			
42	The French Revolution and the Western Heritage	Transparency: "The French Revolution and the Western Heritage"	Obj. Test #5 Rdgs. 39-42	
43-46	RESEARCH PAPER			
47	Nationalism in Tudor England			Book Review Assignment
49	Nineteenth Century Nationalism in Germany			
50	The Meaning of Nationalism	Slide Tape: "Nationalism as a Religion"	Obj. Test #6 Rdgs. 47-50	
51	The Nature of Modern Warfare	Slides: "World War I"		
52	The Decisions that led to War			
53	Making the Peace: The Versailles Treaty	EBF Transparency: "Woodrow Wilson and Versailles" (optional)		
54	Collective Security and the Balance of Power		Essay Test #5	

Rdg. #	Title	Audio-Visual Aids	Examinations	Handouts and Supplementary Assign.
55	The Roots of Totalitarianism: Imperial Russia			
56	The Roots of Totalitarianism: Communist Ideology			
57	The World of the Soviet Citizen			
58	Totalitarianism in the Soviet Union	EBF Transparency: Russian Economic Growth	Obj. Test #7 Rdgs. 51-59	
59	The German People and the Nazis			
60	Nazism in Theory			
61	Nazism in Practice	Slide Tape: "Nazism: The Splendor and the Horror"		
62	Nazism: Denial or Fulfillment of Western Traditions?		Essay Test #6	
63	The Idea of Equality in the West			
64	Nineteenth Century Challenges to the Idea of Equality			
65	The Development of Equality in Great Britain			
66	Equality in Western Tradition	Tape: "Value Conflict - Freedom vs. Equality"	Obj. Test #8 Rdgs. 59-66	
67	The Diffusion of the West in the Nineteenth Century			Handout: "Analysis of Factors Influencing Diffusion of the West"
68	The Values of Non-Western Leaders in the 20th Century			
69	A Turkish Village: A Case Study in Diffusion			
70	The Diffusion of the West	Slides: Diffusion		

THE NATURE OF HISTORY

Subject Objectives:	To know that the classification of information is a function of a person's frame of reference. To know that a person's frame of reference is a product of his entire life experience.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of elements (4:10). To know that a classification scheme grows out of unstated assumptions about the world. Derivation of a set of abstract relationships (5:[illegible] To develop hypotheses about the frame of reference leading to three classification schemes in the lesson.

Materials: Reading #1
Transparencies 1a, 1b, 1c, and 2.

What are we going to be doing in the first six days of the course, according to the introductory paragraphs?	Get the students to state the problem involved in in the first unit of work. The students should realize that they are trying to find out how the historian proceeds so that for the rest of the course they will have a method for disciplined inquiry into the past.
GROUP WORK: Divide the class into as many groups as are manageable and ask each group to decide three of the eighteen creatures in the reading.. After a few minutes, have each group report on the categories they chose.	This exercise will make clear the students' own frame of reference that will be contrasted with the teacher's frame of reference as revealed in the transparencies which follow. The students will probably make biological classifications for the eighteen terms.
What do all of your categories have in common?	The students should realize that their classifications stem from the biological sciences. This frame of reference can later be contrasted with the linguistic frame of reference of the teacher.
PROJECT TRANSPARENCIES 1a, b, c. These are my classifications. What do my categories have in common?	This exercise is designed to get the students to contrast their classification scheme with the teacher.
How are they different from yours? INTRODUCE TERM: Frame of reference.	Once the teacher is satisfied that the students see the basis of both schemes of classification, he should introduce the term FRAME OF REFERENCE which students should be asked to define. They should indicate that the two classification schemes discussed stemmed from different frames of reference.
What does frame of reference have to do with history?	Students should see that different frames of reference will determine the historian's classification of facts, which, in turn, will influence the way in which he interprets history.

Reading 1, continued).

PROJECT TRANSPARENCY 2 Have students classify the names of the political leaders. Where did you get your frame of reference to classify these men?	This exercise will show students that their education partially determines their frame of reference. They should recognize that their scheme of classification came from what they learned in the ninth grade course in comparative political systems.
Where else does one get his frame of reference?	The aim of this question is to get the students to see that everything in one's background influences one's frame of reference--conversation, family, school, experience, church and so on. After the students have suggested several sources, the teacher may wish to ask, "Is there anything in your past experience that has not helped shape your frame of reference?"
Why do you think we have been learning about frame of reference in a history course?	Students need to recognize that historical interpretation depends upon the historian's frame of reference. His classification of facts and his selection of facts depend upon the way in which he views the world.

CLASSIFICATION OF WORDS IA
NUMBER OF LETTERS IN A WORD

3	4	5	6	7	8
cat	lion	shark	turkey	ostrich	elephant
	tuna	eagle	rabbit		pheasant
	pike	sheep	grouse		
			condor		

1 #1A

CLASSIFICATION OF WORDS 1B
NUMBER OF WORDS IN A NAME

1	2
turkey	rainbow trout
shark	collie dog
lion	black bass
sheep	

CLASSIFICATION OF WORDS 1C
NUMBER OF SYLLABLES IN A NAME

1	2	3
cat	lion	elephant
shark	ostrich	collie dog
grouse	condor	rainbow trout
	tuna	
	rabbit	
	turkey	
	black bass	

1#1C

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GOVERNOR WILLIAM SCRANTON
SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK
CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN
MAYOR JOSEPH BARR
SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE JAMES SLUSSER

1 #2

SUPPLEMENTARY ASSIGNMENT #

USING THE LIBRARY: THE CARD CATALOGUE

The library is to the historian what the laboratory is to the scientist. The library contains most of the research tools that the historian uses in investigating any given question. Effective use of the tools in the library requires knowledge of what each tool can do and repeated practice with it. This supplementary assignment and the five to follow are designed to teach you what aids exist in the library, what their uses are, and how to use them.

Foremost among the research aids in the library is the card catalogue of books. Every library contains a file cabinet which houses thousands of three by five cards. Every book in the library is catalogued on at least three of these cards. One card gives the author's name at the top, a second is headed by the title of the book, and still another has the subject of the book listed at the top (sometimes there may be several "subject cards" for one book). The historian uses this card catalogue for a variety of tasks. This supplementary assignment has been designed to introduce you to these functions. Using ONLY the card catalogue, see if you can find the answers to the following questions. For some of these questions you will not be able to find answers. The questions which cannot be answered have been purposely included so that you will find out the limitations of the card catalogue as well as its uses. If you cannot find the answer, write "Cannot be answered by the card catalogue" in the space provided. After you have answered the five questions, write a short summary of the uses of the card catalogue in the space provided.

1. Make a list of at least five books about ancient Athens that are contained in your library.

____

(Author) (Title) (Place & date of Publication

____

____

____

____

____

2. What was the most important book written about the causes of the French Revolution?

____

3. Near what call number would you find all the books in your library that deal with the medieval economy? ____________

4. Which of the following two books would be most useful in finding out about the causes of the first World War?
____ Barbara Tuchman, THE GUNS OF AUGUST ____ Alan Moorehead, GALLIPOLI

5. What is THE BRIDGE AT ANDAU by James Michener about?

____

6. What use is the card catalogue to the historian?

Shaping of Western Society Lesson Plan, Reading 2

EVIDENCE AND INFERENCE: PROVING A HYPOTHESIS

Subject Objectives:	To know that historians develop hypotheses as starting points for investigations. To know that historians support and revise hypotheses with factual evidence derived from documen and artifacts.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of elements (4:10). To know the differe between a fact and an hypothesis. Analysis of relationships (4:20). To determine when evidence supports an hypothesis. Derivation of a set of abstract relationships: (5:30). To develop hypotheses about the Kensingt Stone.

Materials: Reading 2
Recording by Theodore Bikel, "Digging the Weans" from "An Actor's Holiday".
Student Handout: "The Stone is a Fraud" excerpted from American Heritage, X, 3 (April, 1959), 101-104.

What did we decide in yesterday's class?	Have students summarize the findings of the previous lesson and develop the relationship between frame of reference and the historian's mode of inquiry.
What was the major issue that this article dealt with?	This question should fix in the student's mind the basic methodological problem dealt with in the reading. The students might respond that the author was trying to prove that the Kensington Stone was authentic. The teacher should then ask for a definition of the problem in more general terms: historians try to validate hypothesis.
Have a student read the first paragraph. How did the historian begin?	Historians begin investigations with questions. This procedural matter should be discussed.
What was the next step?	Historians next develop tentative answers to thei questions. The students will perhaps answer that the next step was to find information to answer the question, but the teacher should indicate, by having the students carefully analyze the steps i the article, that a tentative answer to the questi was assumed and then information to corroborate that answer was sought.
INTRODUCE TERM: hypothesis	When the students have realized that the historia began with a tentative answer, the teacher should introduce the term hypothesis and ask the student to define it.

Reading 2, continued:

What hypothesis did the author discuss first in the article?	The hypothesis that the stone was a fraud.
What evidence did he give for this hypothesis?	Get the students to give the specific pieces of evidence used to support this hypothesis and list it on the board.
What hypothesis did he discuss next?	That the stone was a genuine relic.
How did he support this second hypothesis?	He showed that some of the original evidence used to "prove" that the stone was a forgery was inaccurate. He also cited new evidence not previously discussed. Get the students to give all of this evidence and list it on the board.
How do historians validate hypotheses?	The two previous exercises illustrate that historians search for facts with which to support hypotheses. Ask questions in several ways to be sure that students know this conclusion.
Do you think he proved the hypothesis?	Most of the students should feel that the stone's authenticity was validated. This will set up the recording which should throw some doubts in their mind.
PLAY RECORDING: "Digging the Weans." What do you think the message of this bit of fun is for us?	The tape pokes fun at historians and archeologists who build up elaborate hypotheses on the basis of a few fragments of evidence. The question is designed to see if the students comprehend this point.
Now how many think the stone is authentic?	Many students should now have some doubts about the stone's authenticity.
PASS OUT HANDOUT: "The Stone is a Fraud."	This handout argues that the stone is a fake.
How does this author prove the other hypothesis?	The students should realize from the handout that its author uses facts to support his hypothesis, but that he also examines the frame of reference of the historian who believed the stone is real.
Can we ever be certain that a hypothesis is proven beyond a shadow of a doubt? Can we be more certain as we collect more evidence?	The question is designed to alert students to the idea that no historical hypothesis can ever be completely validated. We can be more certain of their accuracy, however, as we collect more evidence.

DIGGING THE WEANS

From a recording by Theodore Bikel, Bravo, Bikel, Elektra #175, and based upon an article by Robert Nathan.

In this humorous monologue Bikel assumes the role of an archeologist in the year 3000 who interprets the history of the United States on the basis of fragments of buildings and artifacts found.

Handout is from Eric Wahlgren, "The Case of the Kensington Rune Stone," in AMERICAN HERITAGE (April, 1959) X, no. 3, 101-104.

In this article, Wahlgren systematically offers evidence to repudiate the claims made by Hjalmar Holand in support of the authenticity of the Kensington Rune Stone.

HOW THE HISTORIAN DECIDES WHAT IS FACT

Subject Objectives: To know how historians determine what is factually accurate by seeking corroborative statements from people with different frames of reference and by analyzing the validity of statements through both external and internal evidence.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of elements: (4:10). To recognize unstated assumptions and to distinguish between statements of fact, generalizations based on facts and hypotheses.

Analysis of relationships: (4:20). To determine whether factual evidence supports a particular hypothesis.

Evaluating in terms of internal evidence: (6:10). To know by the use of internal evidence whether the facts reported in a document should be accepted as accurate.

Materials: Reading 3
Transparency 3

What have we learned about how historians work from our previous two lessons?	Students should summarize what they have learned so far.
From what you say it would seem important for historians to get facts from evidence in order to support their hypotheses. As historians from Mars, where did you get your facts?	This question challenges students to draw a connection between the first two lessons and this one. Students should realize that they are dependent upon documents or artifacts that are preserved from the past for the facts they obtain.
GROUP WORK: divide the class into groups and ask each group to select three facts in generalizations from the two documents. Have a student from each group report to the entire class.	Have a student record the statements on the blackboard.
Why did you decide that these were accurate statements?	The goal of this question is to get the students to establish general criteria for true statements. They probably will decide that statements are more probable when accounts from two different frames of reference agree on something.
PROJECT TRANSPARENCY 3 Are these statements accurate? Where did I get them? Why did I select facts about the United States and the Soviet Union?	This transparency includes facts that can be inferred from internal evidence in the documents. They are facts about the United States and the U.S.S.R. The exercise is set up to show students how they can learn information about authors from internal evidence in a document.

Reading 3 continued

How can we decide what statements are accurate when we read records from the past?	Students should agree that statements are probably accurate when two people with different frames of reference agree about something. They should also agree that we can infer information about the authors of articles and the kinds of societies in which they live from documents. For example, the existence of these papers implies that the United States and the Soviet Union had several characteristics in common: their people were literate, they had highly developed technologies, and they had developed different ideologies.
Suppose I had only one account, how would I determine what is fact, then?	This question is included to extend the students thinking beyond the criteria already established. They should suggest other ways of determining the accuracy of statements, namely the analysis of the language of the document to determine objectivity, (Here a look at the reference to Soviet tanks in the last sentence of the second paragraph can serve as an example of how writers can reveal their frame of reference by the way they write). The teacher and students may wish to suggest other criteria, such as the proximity of the author to the event--was he an eyewitness or wasn't he?
What criteria have we established for deciding whether or not a statement is accurate?	Students should be encouraged to summarize the criteria decided upon in the days lesson. The teacher should see that each student gets the criteria written down in his notes.

FACTS

1. Both Russia and the United States had advanced technologies.
2. Both Russia and the United States had a sense of history.
3. Both Russia and the United States were concerned about the events in Hungary.

3 #1

HOW THE HISTORIAN ASKS ANALYTICAL QUESTIONS

Subject Objectives:	To know the kinds of analytical questions which historians ask. To know that the questions which a particular historian asks are a function of his frame of reference.
Skill Objectives:	Derivation of a set of abstract relationships (5:30) To be able to develop a hypothesis through the use of analytical questions.
Materials: Reading 4	

What have we learned, so far, about how the historian works?	Again the class should begin with an attempt to summarize what has been learned and relate it to the major issue of the unit.
What did you learn about how the historian works from this reading?	The purpose of this question is to see if the students understood the major methodological point of the reading--namely, that the historian asks analytical questions in the course of his investigation.
Do you think the questions Gustavson asks are important?	The aim is to get the students to commit themselves to the position that Gustavson asks important questions in order to set up the writing exercise.
WRITING EXERCISE: Since you seem to agree that the questions Gustavson asks are important, let's see if you can remember them. Write them all down on a sheet of paper. What questions do you have?	Let the students write down the questions to see how many they can remember from Gustavson's list. Have the students report what they wrote down and have the other students write down the ones they missed. Have them write all nine of Gustavson's questions into their notes.
What answers does Gustavson give to these questions?	Go through the questions one by one and find out what answers Gustavson found to his questions. This will provide the basis for answering the next question in the lesson plan.
Why do you think Gustavson asked these particular questions?	The students should look at the answers to develop a general reason for asking such questions. They should see that the questions are designed to provide direction to the investigation and keep the historian from overlooking data.

Reading 4 continued.

Can you think of any other questions you might ask? Would you ask all these questions for every investigation? Apply questions to another event.	These two questions aim to get the students to develop their own questions for studying an event in the past. As students apply their additional questions and Gustavson's questions to another event, such as the American Revolution or the Civil War, they should recognize the help that questions give to historical investigations. Even if the question proves to be unfruitful, students should realize that it was important to ask it anyway to make sure nothing is overlooked.
Where did Gustavson get these questions? Would a professor at the University of Moscow ask the same questions?	Students should see that the questions the historian asks are a product of his frame of reference.
Then how do you know you are asking the "right" questions?	Students should see that no one can identify a short list of "right" questions, but that scholars can identify a number of analytical questions which have been useful to investigators in the past. They should also recognize the usefulness of a small list of questions to be used as a starting point for investigations.

HOW THE HISTORIAN DEALS WITH MIND SET

Subject Objectives:	To know that a historian's frame of reference is a product of his culture. To know that a frame of reference can be so rigid that it can prevent accurate reporting or interpretation of events.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of elements: (4:10). To be able to recognize unstated assumptions. Analysis of relationships: (4:20). To be able to determine whether or not evidence supports an hypothesis. Evaluating in terms of internal evidence: (6:10). To be able to assess the degree to which the statements in an article are factually accurate.

Materials: Reading 5
Transparency 4.

What is history?	This question is again for purposes of getting the student to summarize what he has learned, and also to get him thinking about the assignment that is due tomorrow. The teacher might ask the students to write a paragraph in answer to the question.
EXPLAIN ASSIGNMENT	The student's assignment is reading six in their book. Answer any questions they might have.
PROJECT TRANSPARENCY: Tell students to write down the first thing that comes to their mind. After a short time ask the students to tell the class what they saw.	The transparency is an ink blot which can be interpreted several ways. The point to be made with this exercise is that what people see is a function of their frame of reference, as the following question indicates.
Why do you suppose you each saw different things?	The students, by this time, should be well aware that frame of reference conditions most of the activities of historical investigation, and their responses should indicate this conclusion.
What special problems for historians do you think this ink blot test reveals?	The students should see two points: first, that historians themselves see the world differently from each other and this colors their interpretations; and second, that eyewitness reports will see different happenings in an event, and will report only what they are ready to see.

Reading 5 continued.

Let's turn our attention to the reading. What was the story that was told in the first section of the reading? Who was its author?	The aim here should be to get the students to recount the story exactly as the monk told it, so that the elements of the monk's frame of reference are clear to the class.
Do you believe the Monk's story? Why did the Monk believe Herbert was stricken by St. Benedict? Why don't you believe the Monk? Can you prove the Monk was wrong? How should you treat this piece of evidence?	This series of questions is designed to illuminate the problems of using evidence which comes from another culture where the writer's frame of reference influenced his interpretation or description of events. The fourth question in the series should indicate to the students that they also have a mind-set about how things happen, and the teache should encourage the students to compare their frame of reference with the monks. The students should also be aware that a man's entire culture influences his frame of reference.
EXERCISE: Have the class describe a student's clothing in Navajo.	
What problem does this exercise reveal for the historian?	Problems of interpretation also arise out of translating from one language to another. Evidence, written in one language might be distorted when it is translated into another one.
Now let's look at the last section of the reading. How would persons who believed in each of the two ideas of man and revolution interpret the Hungarian Revolution?	This exercise is designed to show the students that a person's values color his interpretation of history. Hence, investigators should be aware of what their values are so that they will be able to recognize their role in forming interpretations.
How can the historian deal with evidence that contains unstated value assumptions?	Underlying assumptions such as these always color the interpretation of the past.

WHAT IS HISTORY?

Subject Objectives:	To know: that the historian's mode of inquiry will affect the validity of his investigation.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the bases of the historians mode of inquiry. Judgments in terms of External Criteria: (6.20) - to compare a sample piece of research with previously established criteria.

Materials: Transparency

TRANSPARENCY:

Does this paper contain all the elements of the historian's mode of inquiry?

INVESTIGATING THE CAUSES OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

When presented with a historical problem I must formulate a method of attack in order to solve it most efficiently. Since I know very little about the Russian Revolution, there are certain steps I must take to find out what caused it.

First, I must gather some information from accounts written by other historians to help me decide the possible causes of the revolution. I will read the accounts of at least two historians to make sure I approach the problem from more than one frame of reference. I will keep in mind that I have a frame of reference of my own, derived from my cultural and educational background, that will also influence how I interpret the causes of the event.

Having read the accounts of historians, I will develop my own hypothesis. Keeping in mind that most complicated events are caused by a variety of causes, my hypothesis might be: "The combination of political weakness, economic distress, and social discontent under the Tsars caused the Russian Revolution."

My next step will be to test my hypothesis. I will begin my test by asking some analytical questions that will guide me to data. Some of the questions I might ask would be:

1. Was the Tsarist government weak?
2. Was there widespread economic distress?
3. Was there a great deal of social discontent?
4. Were there any individuals who were pushing for revolution?
5. Were there any new ideas that would promote a revolution?
6. Were there any previous attempts at revolution?

Using these questions as a guide I will look for evidence that will help me answer them. I will use mostly primary sources as evidence, that is, public records, diaries, letters, newspapers, and other things written at the time of the revolution.

If I use eyewitness accounts of the Revolution I shall try to determine what statements are accurate statements of fact, and what statements are not accurate. I shall try to gather eyewitness accounts from more than two frames of reference, and cross-check their statements. I shall apply other tests for accuracy, such as apparent willingness to tell the truth, the use of

C#1

loaded language, and opportunity to tell the truth.

After completing my investigation I will either modify my hypothesis or accept it as being relatively more accurate than before I had begun my investigation.

By following the steps of forming a hypothesis, asking analytical questions, and seeking evidence and always keeping in mind the problems of mind set, I should be able to determine what caused the Russian Revolution.

6#1

The Athenian Way of Life

Subject Objectives: To know that the Athenians valued full development of all human potentials, that the Athenians believed man was capable of appreciating beauty, displaying physical strength and grace, using his mental powers for understanding his world and ma political decisions.

Skill Objectives: Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - to develo a hypothesis about Athenian values.

Materials: Reading VXI
Tape: "Coming of Age in Athens"

What are we trying to find out from this reading?	This question is designed to make students aware of the purpose of the reading and to remind them that historical investigation begins with a questio in this case, "what were the values of the golden age?" - after which a hypothesis is formed.
What does Davis' reconstruction of Athenian life and activities reveal about Athenian values?	Begin the discussion by asking what a Greek man might do on an average day to get to the idea that he does not work. Physical labor befits only the slave. A citizen is concerned with having adequate leisure time for the purpose of political or philosophical discussion and public service. Then ask what Athenian education reveals about Greek values. Lead the class to an understanding that letters, music, and gymnastics teach appreciation for knowledge, beauty and strength.
Play Tape in two sections asking after each what it reveals about Athenians values.	From the first section the class should be able to determine the position of women in society and the emphasis placed on each individual's "amounting to something." The second section indicates the stress laid on beauty (buying the brooch), strength (winning at games), and knowledge for its own sake as well as its applicability (geometry).
WRITING EXERCISE: Ask each student to write a hypothesis for the original question, what are Greek values?	This should take no longer than a few minutes. The remaining time can then be spent discussing what steps should be taken next.

Slide Tape, "Coming of Age in Athens" is from "Greek Meets Greek," a recording in Walter Goldschmidt's THE WAYS OF MANKIND, Series I. (Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois, National Association of Educational Broadcasters).

This is the script of a playlet about life in ancient Athens. The conversation among the actors indicates the values of the Greeks.

Supplementary Assignment #2

USING THE LIBRARY: THE READER'S GUIDE

What the card catalogue is to books, THE READER'S GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE is to magazines and journals. However, the card catalogue lists only those books that are on the library shelves; the READER'S GUIDE lists articles in almost all magazines published in the United States and some foreign countries, regardless of whether or not the library subscribes to those magazines or not. THE READER'S GUIDE lists articles that have appeared in major periodicals according to subject and according to author. This useful reference to magazine articles is published monthly, quarterly, and by years. Most libraries have the big yearly volumes on their reference shelves. For purposes of this assignment, you will need to consult only those big volumes. Again, some of the questions that follow cannot be answered so that you will learn what the READER'S GUIDE cannot do as well as what it can do. After having answered the five questions, write the short summary called for at the end of the assignment.

1. What articles were written in 1960 about archeological discoveries concerning ancient Rome? (List five)

(Title of article) (Title of magazine) (Date of publication)

2. Who wrote book review of Alan Moorehead's THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION? (*Harper's*: 1958)

3. What magazines published between 1956 and 1960 contained articles about Julius Caesar?

4. How many different interpretations of the decline and fall of the Roman empire were published in magazines between 1950 and 1952? ____________

5. What magazine published between 1946 and 1947 would be the most useful source of information on Roman history in terms of the amount of space devoted to that subject?

Of what use is THE READER'S GUIDE to an historian?

ATHENIAN VALUES

Subject Objectives:	To know that primary source material is often the best evidence for proving a hypothesis that the primary sources in reading 8 substantiate the hypothesis derived from reading 7, but that they also suggest modifications of it.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship between the evidence in reading VIII and the hypothesis formed on the basis of reading VII.

Materials: Reading VIII, "Athenian Values";
Slides of Greek sculpture and
architecture.

Ask several students to read the hypotheses they wrote yesterday.	In doing this try to reach a consensus; do not spend too much time. A sample hypothesis might be: "To be worthwhile, a Greek must have a keen mind and a strong body and he must use these qualities in appreciating beauty, understanding his world, and making political decisions.
Would you consider today's reading material good evidence for proving our hypothesis?	The purpose for this question is to introduce the students to primary source material as opposed to secondary sources such as yesterday's reading. At this point, limit the definition of primary source to: "written materials produced at the time of the era or event under study." Examples might be diaries, newspapers, eyewitness accounts, documents, etc.
GROUP WORK: Divide the class into five groups, each to deal with one of the sections in the reading.	Tell each group to study its primary source sectio with an eye to discovering what virtue it applauds and whether it validates, modifies, or contradicts the hypothesis. A reporter must be selected from each group. Here are some expected responses: Sophocles: man is capable of anything (supports) Homer: glory is gained by fighting for friends and city (modifies) Hesiod: moderation and hard work are important (modifies) Aphorisms: human potential is developed through courage, hard work, self improvement, and virtue. (supports and modifies) Aristotle: virtue lies not in mediocrity but in moderation, that is being satisfied with no more or less than your capabilities; "the golden mean"
SHOW SLIDES: While doing this discuss with the class the values they represent.	Sculpture: #1 - The Discus Thrower - physical strength #2 - Hermes - beauty and perfection of the human body. Gods are anthropomorphic. #3 - Sculpture by Polycleitos - beauty of body lies in balanced proportion.

Architecture:

#4 - Acropolis - public life is of more importance than private life

#5 - Parthenon - a. clean line, symetrical structure, rhythmic repetition
b. the masculine Doric, geometric and mathematical proportion

#6 - Erectheum - the feminine Ionic, graceful and asymetric

Is this evidence as good as the evidence we looked at earlier? Has our hypothesis been validated?	This question should expand upon the definition of primary sources in order to include artifacts. At this point, allow free discussion while steering the class toward modification and refinement of the hypothesis.

A series of seven pictures showing Greek sculpture and architecture.

1. **The Discus Thrower**
2. **Hermes**
3. **A Greek statue showing the proportions of The Golden Mean**
4. **The Acropolis**
5. **a. The Parthenon**
    b. The proportions of the Golden Mean as expressed in the Parthenon
6. **The Porch of the Maidens on the Erectheum**

THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION

Subject Objectives: To know that Athenian democracy reflects Athenian values. Because man is capable, he has the ability to govern himself; that terms like democracy must be defined within their historical framework, i.e., Athenian democracy as opposed to modern American democracy.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of relationships: (4.20) - relationship between values and institutions
Judgment in terms of external criteria: (6.10) - comparison of the Athenian and American political system.

Materials: Reading IX, "The Athenian Constitution"
Handout

What analytic questions would you ask in order to begin investigating a political system?	The class learned these questions in the 9th grade course in political systems. They are: 1. Who are the leaders and how are they recruited? 2. How are decisions made? 3. What is the role of the individual? 4. What is the role of ideology? These questions, just as other materials, should be included in the students' notes.
GROUP WORK: Divide the class into four committees. Each committee should work on one question and then report back to the group.	To work effectively, each committee must have its attention directed toward analyzing the frames of reference of Pericles and the Old Oligarch, seeking corroborative evidence. Suggested answers in order are: 1. Leaders are able citizens who enter public service because of their merit. (Oligarch does not discuss this) 2. Decisions are made by the people. (both authors agree) 3. The individual participates in government directly. (both authors agree but are in conflict as to the wisdom of such a policy) 4. Because man is capable he is obviously suited for political decision making. (the values discussed yesterday attest to Pericles point of view. The old Oligarch disagrees).
HANDOUT: Pass out handout and ask students what relationship Thucydides' admission has to the conclusions they have reached.	The teacher should get the students to remember the tests for establishing truth, as developed in Lesson #3, in particular "Opportunity to Tell the Truth."
Does the Athenian political system reflect the value system?	Yes, in the sense that it reflects the importance of man as a reasonable and ultimately worthwhile creature.

Does this seem like a democracy to you?

Here the student is being encouraged to see the difference between his frame of reference in the matter of defining democracy and that of an Athenian. Apply the same analytic questions to the American political system to find points of comparison and contract.

Examples:

a. Athenian citizens participated directly in government whereas American citizens participate indirectly through representatives.

b. Citizens are only a small part of the population in Athens whereas practically all Americans are or can easily become citizens.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF ACHIEVING ACCURACY

In his history of the Peloponnesian Wars, Thucydides admits the following difficulties in recording speeches.

> As to the speeches which were made either before or during the war, it was hard for me, and for others who reported them to me, to recollect the exact words. I have therefore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said. Of the events of the war I have not ventured to speak from any chance information, nor according to any notion of my own; I have described nothing but what I either saw myself, or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry. The task was a laborious one, because eyewitnesses of the same occurrences gave different accounts of them, as they remembered or were interested in the actions of one side or the other. And very likely the strictly historical character of my narrative may be disappointing to the ear. But if he who desires to have before his eyes a true picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter in the order of human things, shall pronounce what I have written to be useful, then I shall be satisfied. My history is an everlasting possession, not a prize composition which is heard and forgotten.

Shaping of Western Society Lesson Plan, Reading 10

THE HERITAGE OF GREECE

Subject Objectives:	To know the extent to which Greek values have shaped modern values.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship between Greek values and our own.

ADMINISTER OBJECTIVE TEST:	Allow the students twenty minutes. The teacher might wish to use the next day to go over the test.
What evidence is there in American life that Greek values have made their imprint on modern society?	Allow free discussion of this question. The teacher should get students to see such obvious examples as the Olympic Games and Greek architecture. The teacher should also point out examples of humanism in the students behavior and beliefs.

SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

Objective Examination #1
Readings 1-10

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last twenty minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:	Question sheet	Answer Sheet
	1. Chicago is a A. state C. country B. city D. continent	1. A [✓ B] C D

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three.

> Questions 1 through 3 refer to the following quotation:
> "The Persians, therefore, when they saw the Greeks coming on at speed, made ready to receive them, although it seemed to them that the Athenians were bereft of their senses, and bent upon their own destruction; for they saw a mere handful of men coming on at a run without either horsement or archers. Such was the opinion of the barbarians; but the Athenians in close array fell upon them, and fought in a manner worthy of being recorded."

1. Which of the following accurately describes the frame of reference of the author of the above quotation?
   - A. He was an objective, eyewitness observer.
   - [✓ B.] He was an Athenian.
   - C. He was a Persian.
   - D. He was a nineteenth century historian.

2. Given the quotation above, which of the following statements would you accept as a statement of fact?
   - A. The Persians thought the Athenians had gone insane.
   - B. The Athenians fought well and bravely.
   - C. Only a small number of Greeks fought in the battle
   - [✓ D.] The Greeks thought the Persians were barbarians.

3. Which of the following hypotheses could you justify on the basis of this quotation.
   - A. The Persians were terrible fighters.
   - [✓ B.] The Greeks valued courage
   - C. The Athenians were insane.
   - D. The Athenians won the battle.

Questions 4 through 7 refer to the following classification schemes.

I. The Odyssey Antigone
Huckleberry Finn West Side Story
Peyton Place My Fair Lady

II. The Odyssey Huckleberry Finn Peyton Place
Antigone West Side Story
My Fair Lady

III. The Odyssey Peyton Place
Antigone
Huckleberry Finn
West Side Story
My Fair Lady

IV. Antigone Huckleberry Finn My Fair Lady The Odyssey Peyton Place West Side Story

4. Which of the above classification schemes might be chosen by a librarian?
A. I B. II C. III [✓ D. IV]

5. Which of the above classification schemes might be chosen by a history teacher?
A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

6. Which of the above classification schemes might be chosen by a minister or priest?
A. I B. II [✓ C. III] [✓ D. IV]

7. Which of the above classification schemes might be chosen by an English teacher interested in the various types of literature?
[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

8. Which of the following statements best characterizes Carl Gustavson's frame of reference?
A. Events are caused by class antagonisms.
B. Events are caused by religious factors.
[✓ C. Events are caused by multiple factors.]
D. Events are caused by economic factors.

9. Which of the following is a hypothesis about the Civil Rights movement in America?
A. The Civil Rights Law of 1964 makes it illegal to refuse service to Negroes in restaurants engaged in interstate commerce.
B. Negroes comprise more than 90% of the student body in several high schools in cities such as New York, Washington, D.C., Pittsburgh, and St. Louis.
[✓ C. Lack of an articulate leadership has been the cause for postponement of the Negroes' bid for equality until recently]
D. Rioting in Negro ghettos has broken out in Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia and Rochester, N.Y.

Questions 10 through 12 refer to the following quotation: "More than anything else, the Greek belief that man should live up to his potential, was responsible for the development of the golden age."

10. Which of the following sources would provide the best evidence for justifying the hypothesis stated above?
A. A World History text book.
[✓ B.] A collection of plays by Sophocles.
C. An article in the American Historical Review.
D. A book about ancient Greece.

11. Which of the following statements provides evidence for justifying the hypothesis stated above?
A. The Greeks believed that they were superior to the "barbarians" who surrounded them.
B. Many plays were produced in the theater of Dionysius.
C. Aristotle said, "Virtue...involves making a choice lying in a mean between two extremes."
[✓ D.] Pericles, the politician who had the Parthenon built, said, "We are lovers of the beautiful. We recognize excellence in men and their works.

12. Which of the following questions would you ask to begin an investigation of the hypothesis stated above?
A. What has been the effect of Greek thought on the western world?
B. Why did the Greeks develop an appreciation of beauty?
[✓ C.] What were the values of Athenian dramatists, sculptors, and politicians?
D. When did the golden age develop?

13. Which of the following aspects of historical investigation is influenced by the historian's frame of reference?
A. the analytical questions he asks.
B. the data he decides to use.
[✓ C.] the evidence available to him.
D. the hypotheses he makes.

14. Which of the following statements best characterizes the mind-set of a twentieth century scientist?
A. If my government says so, it must be true.
B. If the Bible says so, it must be true.
[✓ C.] If reason and evidence say so, it must be true.
D. If a philosopher says so, it must be true.

15. What was the Greek philosophy of life?
A. Material possessions are of the utmost importance to happiness.
[✓ B.] Nothing in excess, everything in moderation.
C. Resignation to earthly discomfort brings spiritual rewards later.
D. Denial of all earthly pleasures is required of the good man.

Questions 16 through 17 refer to the following statements:

I. "Both the Russian and the American accounts agree that there were tanks in Budapest during the Hungarian revolution."

II. "The Russian and the American accounts disagree on whether or not young people in Hungary were anti-Russian, but the American account has been supported by most of the people who fled from Hungary during the Revolution."

III. "The Russian writer was an eyewitness to the looting that went on in Budapest during the revolution."

IV. "The statement in the American account that Soviet tanks massacred the rioters was based on the reports of anti-communist agitators in Hungary."

16. Which of the following statements is least likely to be a true statement of fact based on the above quotations?
    A. There were tanks in Hungary during the revolution.
    B. Young people in Hungary were anti-Russian.
    C. Looting went on during the revolution.
    [✓ D.] Soviet tanks massacred the revolutionaries in Hungary.

17. Which of the following statements is most likely to be a true statement of fact, based upon the above quotations?
    [✓ A.] There were tanks in Hungary during the revolution.
    B. Young people in Hungary were anti-Russian.
    C. Looting went on during the revolution.
    D. Soviet tanks massacred the revolutionaries in Hungary.

18. Which of the following statements best explains the values upon which Athenian democracy was based?
    A. Athenians believed that one man was incapable of providing good leadership.
    [✓ B.] Athenians believed that all men were reasonable enough to rule themselves.
    C. Athenians believed that all men were equal to each other in their abilities.
    D. Athenians believed that only an elite could govern effectively.

19. The Greeks developed the value system they did for all of the following reasons EXCEPT:
    A. Greek citizens were freed from manual labor by slavery.
    B. The Greeks believed that their gods were inspirations to men rather than punishers of men.
    C. Greece's natural resources were poor and thus made survival a challenge.
    [✓ D.] Greeks were more intelligent than other ancient peoples.

Questions 20 through 21 refer to the following statements.

I. The Greek's high regard for human potential stemmed, in part, from the geographic conditions of their civilization.
II. The soil of Greece is rocky and thin.
III. Several mountain ranges run across the peninsula.
IV. In meeting the challenge of these rugged conditions, the Greeks developed a sense of man's unlimited potential.

20. Which of the above statements are hypotheses?
A. I only C. I and III only.
B. I and II only [✓ D.] I and IV only.

21. Which of the above statements are statements of fact.
A. II only. C. II and IV only.
[✓ B.] II and III only. D. III and IV only.

22. Which of the following statements reflects Greek humanism most accurately?
A. Man is an animal, separated from other animals only by his ability to think and speak.
B. Man is beautiful and a continuing source of pride to his Creator.
C. Man is a sinner by nature and incapable of any perfect act.
[✓ D.] Man is worthwhile and an admirable being if he develops all his potential.

23. Which of the following statements best characterizes the difference between Pericles and the Old Oligarch?
A. The Old Oligarch believes that beauty is its own excuse for being and Pericles uses it for political purposes.
[✓ B.] The Old Oligarch believes that only an elite could direct the government and Pericles disagrees.
C. The Old Oligarch believes that Pericles is a poor leader.
D. The Old Oligarch epitomizes Greek values and Pericles does not.

24. On what fact do Pericles and the Old Oligarch agree?
[✓ A.] that Athens is a democracy.
B. that Athens is threatened by direct citizen participation in government.
C. that Athens has a good constitution.
D. that Athens should improve her military fortifications.

25. Which of the following occupations would an Athenian father LEAST like his son to follow?
A. An architect.
B. An athlete.
[✓ C.] A moneylender.
D. A politician.

IN THE DAYS OF CAESAR AUGUSTUS

Subject Objectives:

To know that primary sources present several views of the reign of Augustus

To know that Augustus centralized legislative an executive powers in his own hands while retainin traditional institutions so as to give the appear ance of having changed little

To know that Augustus made extensive improvements in public works.

Skill Objectives:

Judgments in Terms of External Criteria: (6.20) - to evaluate the sources of information regarding Augustus's reign.

Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - to develop a generalization about Augustus's accomplishments.

Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to analyze relationship between the generalization about Augustus's reign and the evidence.

Materials: Reading 11, "In the Days of
Caesar Augustus"
University Prints

With the development of a huge empire, what problems faced the government in Rome?

This question is designed to direct class attenti to the issues organizing the whole unit. The students should consult the introduction and the "Stating The Issue" to discover the following problems:

Who was to have charge of the whole empire?
How could the government see that its orders were carried out?
How could the government decide what was best for foreign peoples under its rule?
How could the government bring about unity in its extensive empire?

WRITING EXERCISE: Have each student take a minute or two to write a hypothesis indicating what Augustus did to solve these problems.

After several hypotheses have been read aloud, begin examining the written evidence asking the students how the authors assess Augustus.

Augustus himself:
- quelled enemies and extended the empire
- restored ancestral customs
- built public buildings and temples

Tacitus:
- With gifts and grain Augustus bribed soldiers and people. Thus he was able to concentrate all governmental powers in his own hands withou opposition.

Paterculus:
- Augustus brought peace and stability by [illegible]

	the old traditional form of the republic Suetonius: Augustus held the Empire together by promoting good foreign relations, having military protection for all areas and establishing a good intelligence mechanism.
UNIVERSITY PRINTS: Do the prints give any more evidence of Augustus' policies?	G93 - aquaduct conducted water to the city MG236 - Baths - health and social functions MG235 - Theater - cheap entertainment for masses MG55 - Market Hall - for sales as well as a legal and social center MG230 - Apartment House - public housing After looking at the above prints, ask the students what the purpose of the construction was in order to see that it formed the link between Emperor and public thus making him a popular figure. A343, 342, 344, 338, 334, 335: after seeing the subjects of these prints the class should be able to recognize them as the Emperor's propaganda tools since they promote public awareness of his good works.
On the basis of these primary sources is our hypothesis validated?	Depending on how well developed the student hypotheses were to begin with, the evidence should support and modify them. Try to reach concensus by developing a class hypothesis. A sample might be: "Caesar Augustus met the challenge of administering an extensive empire by consolidating governmental power in his own hands. He then maintained a popular image based on public improvement programs and outward preservation of traditional practices.
Do the primary sources present an accurate view of the Emperor?	The purpose of this question is to remind the students that the authors have various frames of reference. Although each regards Augustus as successful, it is for differing reasons and Tacitus does not even regard his success as being valuable to the Empire.

* From The University Prints, (Cambridge, Mass.)

This is a collection of prints showing the architecture and sculpture in Rome. The prints include pictures of such Roman buildings as the Pantheon, the Forum of Hadrian, and the Coliseum, and sculpture such as Trajan's column and a statue of Augustus.

SUPPLEMENTARY ASSIGNMENT #3

USING THE LIBRARY: ENCYCLOPEDIAS

The encyclopedia is one of the most frequently used references in any library. At the same time, it is often over used. Knowing the uses and the limitations of encyclopedias is essential, therefore, if the student wishes to avoid trying to use the encyclopedia for functions it cannot perform. This exercise is designed to acquaint the student with what the encyclopedia can do well and what it cannot do well. Again, some of the following questions cannot be answered. For the exercise you should consult only:

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

COMPTON'S ENCYCLOPEDIA

WORLD BOOK ENCYCLOPEDIA

COLLIER'S ENCYCLOPEDIA

1. What articles in the ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA would you consult to find out about the Roman emperors?

2. What are some of the standard histories of the Peloponnesian War?

3. How does the WORLD BOOK ENCYCLOPEDIA justify the hypothesis that Roman civilization declined because of internal decay?

4. When did Augustus become Emperor of Rome?

5. What hypothesis could you make about why Julius Caesar was assassinated on the basis of evidence given in COLLIER'S ENCYCLOPEDIA or ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA?

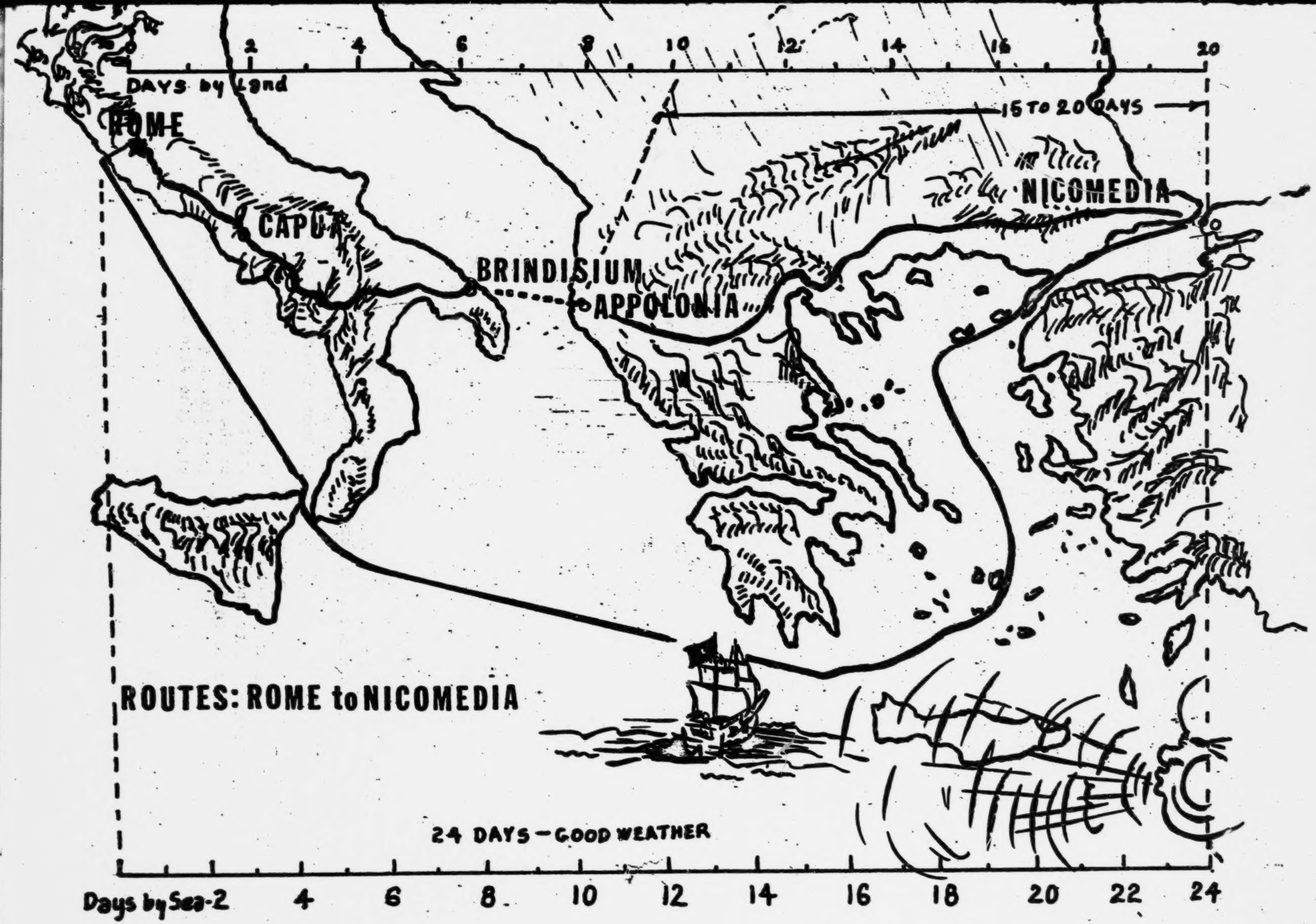
Of what use is an encyclopedia to a historian?

Shaping of Western Society — Lesson Plan, Reading 12

HOW ROME RAN HER EMPIRE

Subject Objectives:	To know that the Roman Emperor set broad governmental policy which was then implemented by the provincial governor according to the particular problems, values, and institutions of the local area. To know that the success of Roman government lay in making balanced decisions so that local intere could be served as long as the unity of the empi was not sacrificed.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze assumptions underlying decision-making in the Roman Empire.
Materials: Reading 12, "How Rome Ran Her Empire"	Transparencies:

What does the hypothesis we made yesterday indicate about how Rome ran her Empire?	This question serves as a review of yesterday's lesson as well as an introduction to the decision making process. It reminds students that orderly government was the result of strong central contr plus skillful use of the military and considerable public works. The teacher should emphasize the idea that the Emperor had full control of the government.
What does Cicero's advice to his brother tell us about what values should guide making decisions in the provinces?	Cicero indicates that an honest, impartial, conscientious, ethical governor would have a model realm because his judgments would not be made for personal gain.
TRANSPARENCIES: Ask the class if the size of the Empire would have affected the decision-making process.	The transparencies are designed to point out that the empire was huge and that communication was difficult at best. The teacher might have the class make some hypothesis as to how this would affect the amount of freedom allowed the governor.
What are the subjects of the letters Pliny writes to Trajan? Why does he write about such mundane matters?	As the class mentions the various topics - aqueducts, fire brigades, etc. - allow your questioning to develop the idea that the Emperor's concern for his realm extended to even the most minor matter on any level.
Is there any general pattern in what the Emperor wants and what the governor is able to do?	The Emperor allows the governor a great deal of latitude. He can do whatever he wishes as long as the Empire is not endangered by loss of money (building a gymnasia and baths), or by subversion (the fire brigade).


ROUTES: ROME to NICOMEDIA

DAYS by Land
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
15 TO 20 DAYS
ROME
CAPUA
BRINDISIUM
APPOLONIA
NICOMEDIA
24 DAYS—GOOD WEATHER
Days by Sea-2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
24

ROMAN LAW AND CHRISTIAN CITIZENS

Subject Objectives:	To know that Roman law protected citizens even in time of crisis To know that four independent documents, each written from a different point of view, point to the same conclusion and are probably a firm basis for making a sound interpretation in history.
Skill Objectives:	Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - generalization about how Roman law protected Roman citize Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship between hypothesis and evidence.

Materials: Reading 13, "Roman Law and Christian Citizens"

Why did the Romans persecute the Christians	This question, draws attention to the introduction pointing to the fact that Christians refused to acknowledge the existence of gods other than their own, which was in violation of Roman law. Make sure the students understand that this was subversi in the eyes of the Romans.
GROUP WORK: Divide the class into four committees, each to examine one of the sources. Have the committees develop hypotheses as to how the Romans treated their subjects.	When the committees report back, try to draw forth the following information Acts of the Apostles: Paul, accused of violating Hebrew and Roman law, denied the charges and was granted the right to have his case heard before the Emperor. The Annals: Nero, cruel by nature, treated Christians harshly. In terms of traditional Roman law, they were falsely accused and improperly tried; further, many Romans felt that Christians were not threatening public welfare. Pliny-Trajan Correspondence: Pliny permitted accused Christians to deny their faith and thus gain freedom; refusal to do this meant execution. Roman citizens were tried in Rome. The emperor told Pliny that judging each case on its merits was correct and never to allow anonymous accusations, thereby maintaining the right of the accused to face his accusers. Decree of Hadrian: False accusation is as much a crime as breaking the law; both must be handled with seriousness.
What hypothesis can you make about the way Romans treated their subjects?	Roman law protected subject peoples as well as Roman citizens. All cases were handled individually and the judicial system relied largely on the principle that a man is innocent until proven guilty.

Do you think the evidence drawn from these sources is reliable?	**There is no reason to believe that any of the sources are lying, since it would not be to th benefit to do so. Some would have reason to be against the Empire, but are not. Further, the selections are written during different periods of time, yet all point to the same conclusion.**

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Subject Objectives: To know that the Roman Empire was created by and owed its success to the practical genius of man, whereas the Greek civilization was founded upon artistic and intellectual endeavor

Skill Objectives: Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to recognize the elements of Roman practicality and useful achievement versus the Greek love of knowledge for its own sake

Materials: Reading XIV, "The Roman Empire"

ADMINISTER TWENTY MINUTE ESSAY EXAM

How do Roman values differ from the values of the Greeks?	Allow the discussion to continue for the remainder of the period. The essay gives many examples of the practical nature of the entire Roman civilization. The class should be able to draw on their knowledge of Greek culture to make this comparison.

The Shaping of Western Society Essay Test #1

INSTRUCTIONS TO TEACHER: Please write this examination on the board.

Write an essay in which you justify or attack the following hypothesis.

"The major reason why the Romans were so successful in running their large empire was because they were so practical."

THE MEDIEVAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

Subject Objectives:	To know that the medieval political system was a traditional one as enforced by the Church, but that it contained the seeds of innovation.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the structure of the medieval political system. Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to generalize about the values underlying the medieval political system.

Materials: Reading XV, "The Medieval Political System"
Handout, "A Diagram of the Feudal System", "Genealogy of English Monarchs"

What are the analytic questions used to determine the political structure of a society?	Here the class again has the opportunity to review the four questions concerning leadership, decision-making, and the role of individuals and ideology.
HANDOUT: Have the class study A and then B, each for about a minute. After each, ask how does one get to be a leader?	As the points are brought out in discussion, list them on the chalk board. Diagram of the Feudal System: indicates that leadership is based on fighting and landholding; the liege lords having given fiefs to their vassals then receive a military service in return. Vassals must also perform other services as well. Genealogy of English Kings: positions of leadership are inherited.
What does the reading on the Coronation of Otto add to your understanding of who the leaders are?	This reading modifies the idea that leadership is strictly inherited because it points out that the leader still must be elected; therefore, he must have the support of the landholders in his kingdom. The teacher might show how this mode of recruitment contrasts with that of the Greeks.
How were decisions made in the medieval political system?	This is a two part question in the sense that decisions had to be made on both the executive and judicial levels. Get at the idea that decisions were based largely on tradition. Executive: "Charlemagne's Government" The Emperor decides how military service is determined, that God must be served, that the Emperor must not be disobeyed. Tradition largely dictates decision making. "The Limits of the Emperor" The king's decisions must be in harmony with the Pope's ideas and they must be supported by his vassals. This allows for some innovation. Judicial: "The Manorial Court", and "Form for Ordeal by Hot Water" point out that judicial decisions were made through trials; one a primitive version of modern court trials, the other a traditional ordeal.

Lesson Plan Reading 15 (continued)

Are there any aspects to the method of recruiting leaders or making decisions that might permit the evolution of a different means for doing both?	This is a difficult question. It is considerably easier, however, if you go back over the points listed on the board asking the class which ones contain the seeds of innovation. Sample: inherited leadership would only change the person of the leader, whereas popular support could become the entire basis for leadership recruitment. The need for vassal support when decisions were made also left the way open for changes. The trial allows the case to be determined by the facts rather than by traditional tests.
What is the role of the individual in the medieval political structure?	This question requires the class to infer from all the readings that the individual is not of particular significance in that his life is cheap and his value lies in his willingness to obey. Charlemagne implies and the selections on justice substantiate the idea that any infraction or nonconformity is dealt with harshly.
What was the role of ideology in the medieval political system?	This is both an analytic and a summary question. As the students look back over the material it becomes apparent that doing the right thing was most important to medieval man. Moreover, that which was right and good was generally delineated by the Church or someone ministering in its name.

SUPPLEMENTARY ASSIGNMENT #4

USE OF THE LIBRARY: ATLASES

If the historian is to investigate what happened in the past he must often find out where things happened in order to place the event in its proper setting. The use of the atlas is one skill that must be learned early in the historian's training. Supplementary Assignment #4 is designed to introduce the student to these skills. Again, some of the questions below cannot be answered by reference to an atlas. In doing this exercise you should consult only:

RAND McNALLY ATLAS OF WORLD HISTORY

SHEPHARD'S HISTORICAL ATLAS

THE TIMES ATLAS OF THE WORLD

GOODE'S ATLAS

HAMMOND'S WORLD ATLAS

1. What problems might Russia have in defending her western border?

2. What was the most important battle of the Hundred Year's War? (1337-1453)

3. What cities were on the trade route between Paris and Hamburg during the Middle Ages?

4. What happened to the political boundaries of Spain between 910 and 1492?

5. What territorial disputes might have engaged the King of France and the King of England between 1154 and 1184?

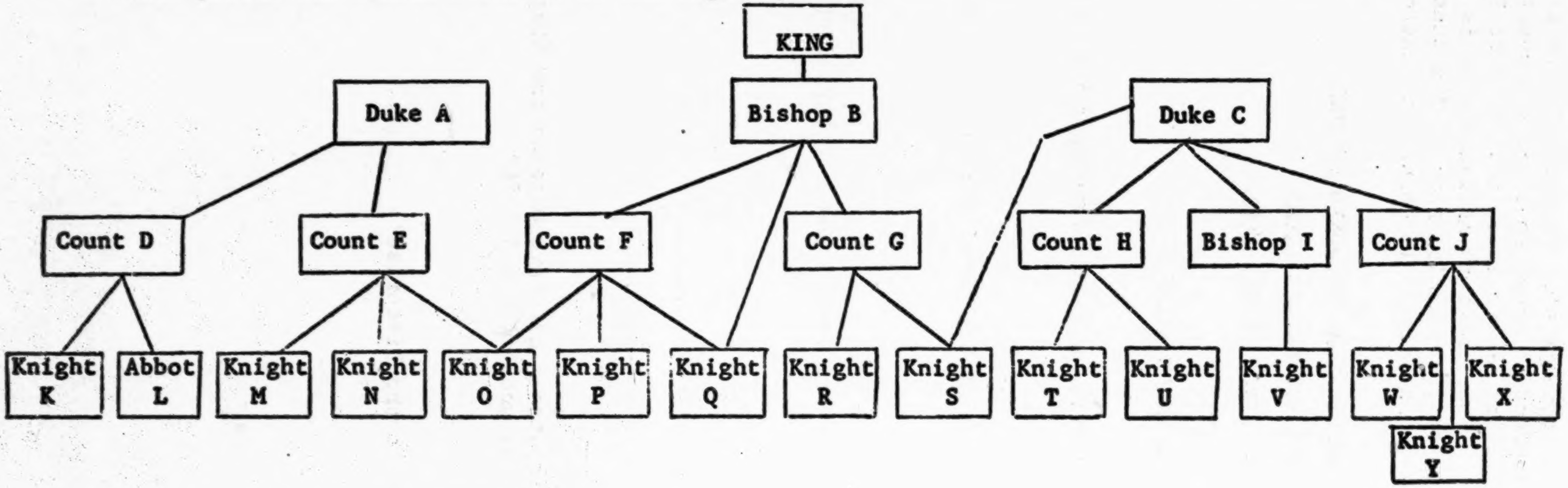
Of what use are atlases to the historian?

Handout A

A DIAGRAM OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

With Reading 15

Any diagram of the feudal system can never be wholly accurate for there were countless variations throughout Europe. A diagram can, however, serve to illustrate the common theme of feudalism. In the simplified diagram below, the lines between the various people indicate personal contracts that were made between two individuals. Generally, the terms of the contract stipulated that the higher individual granted a fief to the lower individual in return for a promise of military service and other aids. The higher person in the diagram was called the liege lord of the lower person, and the lower person was called a vassal of the higher person.

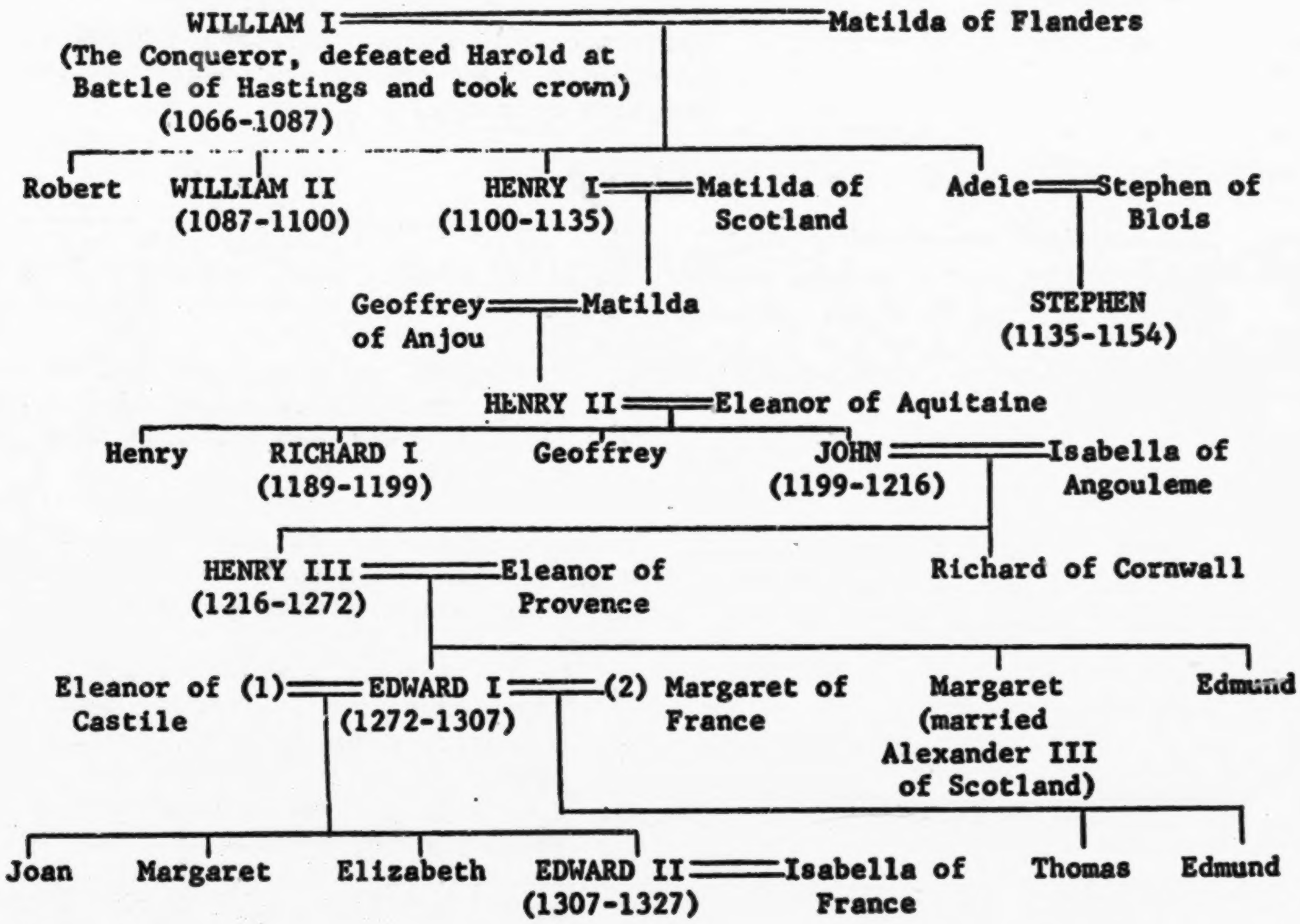

KING
Duke A
Bishop B
Duke C
Count D
Count E
Count F
Count G
Count H
Bishop I
Count J
Knight K
Abbot L
Knight M
Knight N
Knight O
Knight P
Knight Q
Knight R
Knight S
Knight T
Knight U
Knight V
Knight W
Knight X
Knight Y

1. Who are the vassals of Duke C?
2. From whom did Knight O receive fiefs?
3. On whose side would Knight S fight if Duke B and Duke C went to war against each other?
4. Who are Count H's liege lords?
5. How many vassals does the king have?
6. How many vassals does Duke B have?

Handout B With Reading 15

GENEALOGY OF ENGLISH MONARCHS 1066-1327

The following genealogical chart casts light on how one became a king in the Middle Ages. (Kings are indicated by capital letters. The dates of their reigns are in parentheses.)


WILLIAM I
Matilda of Flanders
(The Conqueror, defeated Harold at Battle of Hastings and took crown)
(1066-1087)
Robert
WILLIAM II
(1087-1100)
HENRY I
(1100-1135)
Matilda of Scotland
Adele
Stephen of Blois
Geoffrey of Anjou
Matilda
STEPHEN
(1135-1154)
HENRY II
Eleanor of Aquitaine
Henry
RICHARD I
(1189-1199)
Geoffrey
JOHN
(1199-1216)
Isabella of Angouleme
HENRY III
(1216-1272)
Eleanor of Provence
Richard of Cornwall
Eleanor of Castile
(1)
EDWARD I
(1272-1307)
(2) Margaret of France
Margaret (married Alexander III of Scotland)
Edmund
Joan
Margaret
Elizabeth
EDWARD II
(1307-1327)
Isabella of France
Thomas
Edmund

THE MEDIEVAL ECONOMY

Subject Objectives:	To know that the medieval economy was a traditional one based on Christian values.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the structure of the medieval economy Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - to generalize about the values underlying the medieval economy.

Materials: Reading XVI, "The Medieval Economy"

What are the analytic questions used to determine the way in which economic decisions are made?	The class learned these questions last year in the course on Comparative Economic Systems. How is it decided: 1. What goods and services shall be produced? 2. How goods and services shall be produced? 3. For whom goods and services shall be produced?
Who made the decisions about what to produce, how to produce it, and for whom?	This question will obviously have to be broken down so that it is answered in terms of how the decisions were made and what the decisions were. 1. What: the manor produced the things that had always been produced - foodstuffs and necessary consumer goods for the local area. 2. How: the allocation of productive factors (labor, natural resources, capital goods) was determined by tradition. Draw the class' attention to "A Serf's Contract" - his duties are enumerated and he is tied to the land. Note also "How to Run a Manor" which indicates the three field method of crop rotation. 3. For Whom: goods and services were produced to meet the economic wants of the lord and the manor. See also "The Hatter's Guild" and its restrictions on trade outside the city.
WRITING EXERCISE: Use the topic "The Medieval period had a traditional economy."	Allow five to ten minutes for this exercise. Direct the class to write one (1) paragraph using at least three pieces of specific evidence to prove that it was a traditional economy. This exercise checks on note-taking and aids in building skills for writing essay examinations. The teacher should try to see as many paragraphs as possible and have several read aloud.
Is there any room for innovation in this structure?	Very little. Only Walter of Henley in "How to Run a Manor" shows any sign of departing

	from tradition because he advocates a more utilitarian method of plowing. The very existence of towns is meaningful too, although the serfs inability to move about freely is somewhat prohibitive to developing a mobile labor force.
Why is there no room for change? What prevents it?	Again the students should conclude that Church oriented values made economic expansion immpossible. According to Aquinas, the Church frowned on profit expectation and usury both of which are necessary to provide capital for increasing production and carrying on trade.

Shaping of Western Society

Lesson Plan
Reading 17

THE MEDIEVAL SOCIAL SYSTEM

Subject Objectives: To know that the medieval social structure was highly stratified and static; though embedded in tradition, it does contain possibilities for change.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the various strata of the medieval social structure. Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to generalize about the values underlying the social system.

Materials: Reading XVII, "The Medieval Social System"
Handout: Chart, "Analysis of Medieval Social Classes"

What analytic questions are used to determine how social classes are organized?

Draw attention to the introduction to this reading.

1. What are the major groups and how are they determined?
2. What privileges and responsibilities does each group have?
3. How and when do various groups come in contact with one another?
4. How does the social group influence the behavior of its members?

HANDOUT. While discussing the answers to these questions have the class members fill in their charts.

GROUPS	PRIVILEGES AND RESPONSIBILITIES	CONTACTS BETWEEN CLASSES	WHO IS A MEMBER	INFLUENCE ON BEHAVIOR OF MEMBERS
Clergy	Receive fiefs - give service Education: only ones who read Trial only in church courts Conduct worship	have religious contacts socialize with nobility	those who are educated earned status	Assumed attitudes of superiority Expected veneration
Nobility (warrior)	Pass wealth & power down to future generations. Protect people; excused from work; plead ignorance of law; not permitted to be in poverty	socialize with clergy only business dealings with "unfree"	born into membership (ascribed status)	Lived a sumptuous life; accustomed to giving orders; assumed attitude of superiority
"Unfree" peasants & serfs	Fed & clothed society; protected by courts and law; could not purchase freedom; may be released or obtain freedom by spending a year and a day in a chartered town	Very little contact with upper classes	born into membership (ascribed status)	developed feelings of inferiority; probably fearful and easily manipulated

Does there seem to be any opportunity for greater class fluidity?	Yes. There were peasants who entered the Clergy by learning to read and thus gained clerical privileges. It would seem, therefore, that increased education might be a key to greater mobility. The fact, too, that under certain circumstances a serf might be freed is significant.
Why do you suppose the social system is structured in this way?	The Church, again, is the crux of the issue. Because the Church controlled the political and economic systems, its clergymen naturally had the greatest privileges in society. The nobility with its background of protecting society (the warrior class) were also accorde status. Churchmen and nobles would certainly be reluctant to make changes which would only be threats to their own security.

Shaping of Western Society **HANDOUT** **Reading 17**

GROUPS	PRIVILEGES AND RESPONSIBILITIES	CONTACTS BETWEEN CLASSES	WHO IS A MEMBER	INFLUENCE ON BEHAVIOR OF MEMBERS
Clergy				
Nobility (warrior)				
"Un-Free" peasants & serfs				

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

Paper Assignment for Unit IV
"Traditional Society in the
Middle Ages"

During the next two days you are to write a paper outside of class in which you develop and defend a hypothesis about the Middle Ages. You may develop any hypothesis you wish, but remember that most hypotheses define the relationships between conditions and events in the past. For instance, a hypothesis about Rome might be the statement you defended or attacked in the essay test for Unit III. As you recall you were asked to justify or attack the statement, "The major reason why the Romans were so successful in running their large empire was because they were so practical." This hypothesis defines the relationship between the Roman character (their practicality) and their accomplishments (the running of their large empire). To defend this statement you would have to present convincing evidence that the Romans were practical people and that they applied this practical genius to the administration of their empire. For example, you might use the Pliny-Trajan correspondence as an example of how the Romans concerned themselves with practical problems and worked out a practical scheme for making decisions about these problems.

For this assignment you are to develop your own hypothesis. You might choose to define any number of relationships between values, political institutions, economic institutions, and social structure. Once you have established your hypothesis you must defend it with specific evidence. You should use the great quantity of primary sources that are contained in the unit on the Middle Ages. You should avoid, in so far as possible, using statements from the summary essay at the end of the unit, though some of the facts mentioned in the essay may be of some use to you.

When you write your paper be sure to state your hypothesis in the topic sentence of the first paragraph. Then proceed to defend it in the rest of your paper.

THE MEDIEVAL CATHEDRAL

Subject Objectives: To know that the medieval cathedral is a physical representation of the significant role religion played during the Middle Ages.

Skill Objectives: Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to develop a conclusion about the role of Church from the photo-essay.

Materials: Photo Essay, "The Medieval Cathedral"
Reading XVIII

DISCOVERY EXERCISE: Divide the class into four groups, giving each a set of photographs. Ask them to find out what the pictures tell the viewer about the Middle Ages.

Allow about fifteen minutes for this exercise.

What do the pictures tell us about the Middle Ages?

In general class discussion during the remainder of the period, develop the following types of understandings:

I. The Cathedral is the center of town life; it is larger than all the other buildings, is located in the center of town, and is often built on a hill so it can be seen from a distance.

II. The Cathedral is awe-inspiring; it is an architectural masterpiece, is ornately decorated, and the lofty spires stretch heavenward drawing the eye and the spirit with them

III. The Cathedral is a teacher; much of the sculpture educates the townspeople in Biblical and Church history through depictions of Bible stories or the lives of the saints and martyrs, thus instilling the proper values.

IV: The Cathedral is a history book; much of the decoration reveals the various trades of the town or glorifies the political leaders of the time.

Photo Essay: THE MEDIEVAL CATHEDRAL

This photo essay consists of a number of pictures which should be divided into four basic categories. They are as follows:

1. A picture or series of pictures portraying a Medieval cathedral as the largest building in a Medieval town (most long-range views of medieval cities accomplish this).
2. A picture or series of pictures which show the Cathedral as a giant, imposing edifice filled with grandeur.
3. A series of close-up pictures depicting religious statuary on the Cathedral.
4. A series of close-up pictures depicting representations of the peasants' life as shown in religious statuary on the Cathedral.

Shaping of Western Society　　Lesson Plan, Reading 19

ORIGINS OF THE RENAISSANCE

Subject Objectives:

1) To know that the Renaissance can be characterized as a change of values; namely, that men exalted humanism and that they developed more concern for secular affairs.

2) To know that the Renaissance values developed in an urban environment because the cities were commercial centers and therefore had concentrated wealth and population and provided the free exchange of ideas.

Skill Objectives: Derivation of Abstract Relationships 5.30 - to develop an hypothesis about what changes had taken place in Italy and why they took place.

Materials: Reading XVIIII
"The Emergence of the Renaissance"

Procedures:

WRITING EXERCISE: Divide class into three groups. Tell students that they are medieval serfs, just off the manor. Have students in each group write a letter home in which they tell what strikes them most about: a-Genoa (Group 1) b-Florence (Group 2) c-Cosimo de Medici (Group 3)	Allot ten minutes for this exercise. After the students have written their paragraphs, call upon at least one student from each group to read his paragraph.
What changes have taken place?	Get at the first subject objective. Students should see: a-Process of urbanization. b-The growth of a merchant class. c-Revival of classics. d-Values of Latin and Greek. e-Secular interests. f-The new position of women in society.
Why did the changes take place?	Lead the students to see relationships between the various elements of the Renaissance and how each might help the others. e.g. The development of capital through merchant enterprise gave some people the where-with-all to patronize the fine arts by giving artists their monetary rewards.
	Encourage the students to have definitions in their notebooks of the following terms: Renaissance Secularism Patronage Humanism Classicism

SUPPLEMENTARY ASSIGNMENT #7

USING THE LIBRARY: STANDARD HISTORICAL REFERENCES

Every reference section of a library contains several volumes devoted only to history. These references generally contain a large quantity of information on historical subjects without very much attempt to interpret the facts. As such, these historical reference works are very useful to an historian, but again, in limited ways. Furthermore, some of the reference works are more suited to one kind of task than they are to others. This exercise has been designed to introduce you to the various tasks these reference works can perform. Check the reference you think would be most useful to you in performing the following tasks. Consider the speed with which you can find information as well as the amount of information you need.

1. What wars were fought during the reign of Edward I?

    ____ Langer's ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

    ____ CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY

    ____ Keller's DICTIONARY OF DATES

2. What was the role of Parliament during the reign of Elizabeth?

    ____ Langer's ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

    ____ CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY

    ____ Keller's DICTIONARY OF DATES

3. When did the Glorious Revolution take place in England?

    ____ Langer's ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

    ____ CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY

    ____ Keller's DICTIONARY OF DATES

4. What caused the Puritan Revolution of 1641-49?

    ____ Langer's ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

    ____ CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY

    ____ Keller's DICTIONARY OF DATES

5. What major legislation extended the suffrage in England during the nineteenth century?

    ____ Langer's ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

    ____ CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY

    ____ Keller's DICTIONARY OF DATES

Shaping of Western Society   Lesson Plan, Reading 20

AN ARTIST OF THE RENAISSANCE

Subject Objectives:	To know that Renaissance art and artists were concerned with man's earthly qualities rather than his soul. To know that Renaissance artists and patrons were concerned with secular comforts rather than salvation. To know that Renaissance artists were extremely individualistic and egocentric.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements (4.20) - to analyze and compare the elements of medieval and Renaissance art. Derivation of Abstract relations (5.30) - To develop the relationships between Renaissance art and the behavior of a Renaissance artist and the values of the period.

Materials: Reading XX - "An Artist of the Renaissance."
Slides: Madonna Enthroned, Holy Family,
Hercules, David.

Procedures:

SLIDES: (Madonna Enthroned, Holy Family). Write down one adjective which you think adequately describes each painting.	Use the student's adjectives to develop an idea of the differences between medieval and Renaissance art. The students should recognize that the Renaissance painting (by Michelangelo) shows anatomy, background, beauty in the human form,--in short it emphasizes the human qualities of the Holy Family. The medieval painting does not show any of the aspects of Renaissance painting--earthly human qualities do not show, individual differences are not shown (everyone looks just alike, including the Baby Jesus who looks like a little old man), and there is no background.
What changes in values do you think these two paintings represent?	Work toward the generalization that the Renaissance focused on man's earthly nature rather than his sacred nature. Introduce the term humanism. Remind students that they have studied another "humanistic" society. They should remember the Greek values.
Do you think Cellini reflects the same values as the Michelangelo painting?	Get the students to analyze the Cellini reading for his "frame of reference." Have them select specific examples of his humanistic outlook.
What other aspects of Cellini's frame of reference strikes you?	Here the students should develop generalizations about Cellini's egocentrism, his concern for secular enjoyment.

SLIDES: (Hercules) This is Bandinello's sculpture that Cellini attacks in his autobiography. What criteria does he use to criticize the statue?	Have a student read the criticism of the Hercules statue found on page 110 of the student readings. Work toward the generalization that Cellini think the sculpture is bad because it does not follow human proportions or human movement. In short, the students should see that the Bandinello sculpture is not "humanistic."
SLIDE: (David) Would Cellini think this is a good sculpture?	Have the students apply the same criteria derived from the Hercules slide to the statue of David. They should see that Cellini would think this sculpture worthy of praise since it represents the epitome of manliness.

Two pictures demonstrating the differences between Medieval and Renaissance painting.

1. Holy Family, an altar piece.
2. Michelangelo's Holy Family.

Two pictures demonstrating the difference between Medieval and Renaissance sculpture.

1. Bandinello's Hercules
2. Michelangelo's statue of David.

THREE RENAISSANCE WRITERS

Subject Objectives: To know that Renaissance men valued beauty, tha they exalted classical virtues, that they value the man of many facets, and that they were concerned with practical political problems rather than the ultimate goals of the state.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of elements (4.10) - To analyze the elements of the frame of reference of the Renaissance writers. Production of a unique communication (5.30) - To develop a hypothesis about the significant changes in the Renaissanc

Materials: Reading XXI, "Three Renaissance Writers"
Slide Tape: "The Renaissance Spirit"

GROUP WORK: Divide class into three groups. Have each group select adjectives which describe a. The ideal woman according to Petrarch (Group 1) b. The ideal courtier according to Castiglione (Group 2) c. The ideal Prince according to Machiavelli (Group 3)	Have each group appoint a "secretary" to list the adjectives that the group agrees upon.
DISCUSSION: Have groups report. What did Renaissance men value?	Working from the student's list of adjectives, develop a generalization about the values of Renaissance men. The students should come to the conclusion that the Renaissance valued the "humanness" of man, their many sided personalities, their beauty. The students should see that Renaissance men were more concerned about secular affairs (Machiavelli) than about sacred objectives.
SLIDE TAPE: "The Renaissance Spirit" Show the slide tape. Ask students what values are emphasized.	Let the discussion of the slide tape center around the ideas derived from the preceding exercise. Ask if there are any other values brought out in the slide tape that are not included in the readings.
ESSAY ASSIGNMENT: Pass out essay assignment.	Tell the students that they will have the next class period to write their essays. They may not write them overnight, but they should plan them. Tell the students that they will be allowed to use their notes, but not the readings If time permits, have the students begin writing their first paragraph which should state their hypothesis.

The Slide-Tape: The Renaissance Spirit

1. Painting of an Italian city during the Renaissance
2. Painting of the canals of Venice
3. Photograph of a Renaissance home
4. Picture of a statue of Lorenzo de Medici
5. Painting of a Renaissance nobleman
6. Picture of a Renaissance aristocratic lady
7. Picture of a Renaissance aristocratic lady
8. The Cathedral in Florence
9. The Rape of the Sabine Women
10. St. Francis of Assisi praying
11. Painting of a Renaissance battle
12. Picture of a Renaissance man and woman
13. A gorgeous Renaissance babe
14. Painting of a young Renaissance nobleman
15. Painting of Renaissance musicians
16. Photograph of a Cellini salt cellar
17. Photograph of the ruins of the Roman Forum
18. Painting of a Renaissance astronomer
19. Painting of a crowded canal in Venice
20. Painting of the Pope receiving artists
21. Painting of a Renaissance Cardinal
22. Painting of Leonardo da Vinci
23. Painting of a Renaissance Cardinal
24. Painting of a Renaissance Pope
25. Picture of an old man and his gaandson
26. Painting of the dead Christ
27. Painting of Lorenzo de Medici as one of the Magi
28. Leonardo da Vinci's anatomical sketches
29. Da Vinci's Last Supper
30. Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel
31. Painting of St. Augustine
32. Head of Mary Magdalene
33. Michelangelo's Moses
34. The Birth of Venus
35. Michelangelo's David
36. Madonna and Child
37. Michelangelo's Pieta

Slide Tape #1 THE RENAISSANCE SPIRIT

① "Would that you were with me!" wrote Aeneas Piccolomini to his friend in Austria. "You would see a city which has no equal anywhere on earth." ② "Right at the shore arise the most magnificent palaces, heaven scaling, built of marble, decorated with columns and often too with sculptures. Under them runs an arcade for the length of a thousand steps where every conceivable object is for sale. . . ③ The houses are so large and distinguished that a king or a prince might be content with any one of them. For they are all of royal magnificence. . . .Now as to the life and customs of the population, ④ the men are substantial, well-grown, and impressive, carry themselves proudly and are in fact proud. ⑤ They are a gifted folk, not likely to be found inferior to any other people in the quality of their mind. . . .They dress nobly and elegantly. ⑥ As for their women, they let them do as they please, for rather may it be said that the women wield the scepter than the other way about. . . . ⑦ Their dresses are luxurious, loaded with gold and silver trimmings and with jewels. On their fingers sparkle emeralds and diamonds supplied by India and Persia." ⑧ The young man, who was later to become Pius II, was caught up in the spirit of the Renaissance city.

But what was this spirit? ⑨ Was it an age of pleasure? ⑩ Was it an age of faith? ⑪ An age of violence? ⑫ An age of romance? ---It was all these things and many more.

It was an age that loved beauty ⑬ , beautiful women ⑭, handsome men ⑮, beautiful music ⑯ and exquisite ornaments ⑰. It was an age that loved the classical world, ⑱ the scientific world, ⑲ the business world, and ⑳ the world of art.

The artists captured the spirit of the Renaissance in their painting and sculpture. Their portraits captured the ㉑ pride of Renaissance men, ㉒ their intensity, ㉓ their piety, ㉔ their dignity, ㉕ and even their ugliness. The Renaissance artists developed new techniques to better portray

the world as they saw it. They learned to draw in perspective ㉖, to fill in background ㉗, they studied anatomy ㉘, they experimented with color ㉙ (sometimes with unfortunate results ㉚, sometimes with striking success).

Most of all, the artists learned to capture every aspect of the human condition. Man's rationality, ㉛ his lustfulness ㉜, his grandeur, ㉝ the grace of woman, ㉞ the strength of man. The Renaissance artist captured the joy of birth ㉟, and the sorrow of death ㊱.

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Most of all, the artists learned to capture every aspect of the human condition. Man's rationality, ㉛ his lustfulness ㉜, his grandeur, ㉝ the grace of woman, ㉞ the strength of man ㉟. The Renaissance artist captured the joy of birth ㊱, and the sorrow of death ㊲.

Question:

> "The Renaissance was the first step toward the development of an innovative society in Europe."
>
> Agree or disagree. State your hypothesis and justify with evidence from the documents that you have read and the paintings and sculpture you have seen in class.

THE RENAISSANCE

Administer writing of class essay. See that the students do not use their readings. but tell them they may use notes. The paper should be graded on the basis of how well they substantiate their hypothesis. Allow full period for writing.

Shaping of Western Society   Lesson Plan   Reading 23

A MILESTONE IN CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

Subject Objectives:	To know that the Magna Carta limited the powers of the English monarch and restored baronial strength.
Skill Objectives:	Judgments in Terms of External Criteria: (6.10) - to compare the original intention of the Magna Carta with the significance it later acquired.

Materials: Reading XXIII
"A Milestone in Constitutional Government"

OPEN END DISCUSSION: Ask the class which clause of the Magna Carta they think is most important and why.	This discussion should continue for at least twenty minutes. The teacher should encourage intra-class conversation, entering in primarily to make sure students justify their views. The question, of course, assumes that the class understands the subject of each clause. It also gets at the skill objective in the sense that students will probably justify importance in terms of criteria outside the document's frame of reference.
What hypothesis can you develop about the significance of the Magna Carta?	Work toward concensus on a hypothesis like: "The Magna Carta limits the powers of the king by restricting his ability to tax and punish indiscriminately." You may expect argument here from a small but probably vocal faction which will insist that the document is the foundation of democracy and civil liberties.
If the document limits the power of the monarch, why did John sign it?	This can be handled or the hypothesis refined by pointing out that limitation of the King's power necessitates the extension of someone else's power. These receivers were the barons who were simply getting back strength they had once had. He had no choice. Besides being at a distinct numerical disadvantage at Runnymede, the circumstances of John's reign must be considered. Draw the Class' attention to the chart on p. 126 which indicates the problem areas of his administration. Could he afford to withhold his signature?

SUPPLEMENTARY ASSIGNMENT #6

USING THE LIBRARY: STANDARD REFERENCES

Every library contains several standard reference works that cannot be classified as encyclopedias, historical references, or atlases. These reference works include everything from books of capsule biographies, such as WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, to lists of statistics, such as THE STATISTICAL ABSTRACT. Each individual volume has its own uses. This exercise is designed to introduce you to the various uses of five of these references. You are to write a short summary of what uses each of the following reference works would have to an historian. To do this you will have to flip through each of the volumes mentioned to get some idea of what kind of information it contains. Then write your summary in a sentence or two.

1. CHAMBER'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

2. WORLD ALMANAC

3. STATESMAN'S YEARBOOK

4. STATISTICAL ABSTRACT

5. DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

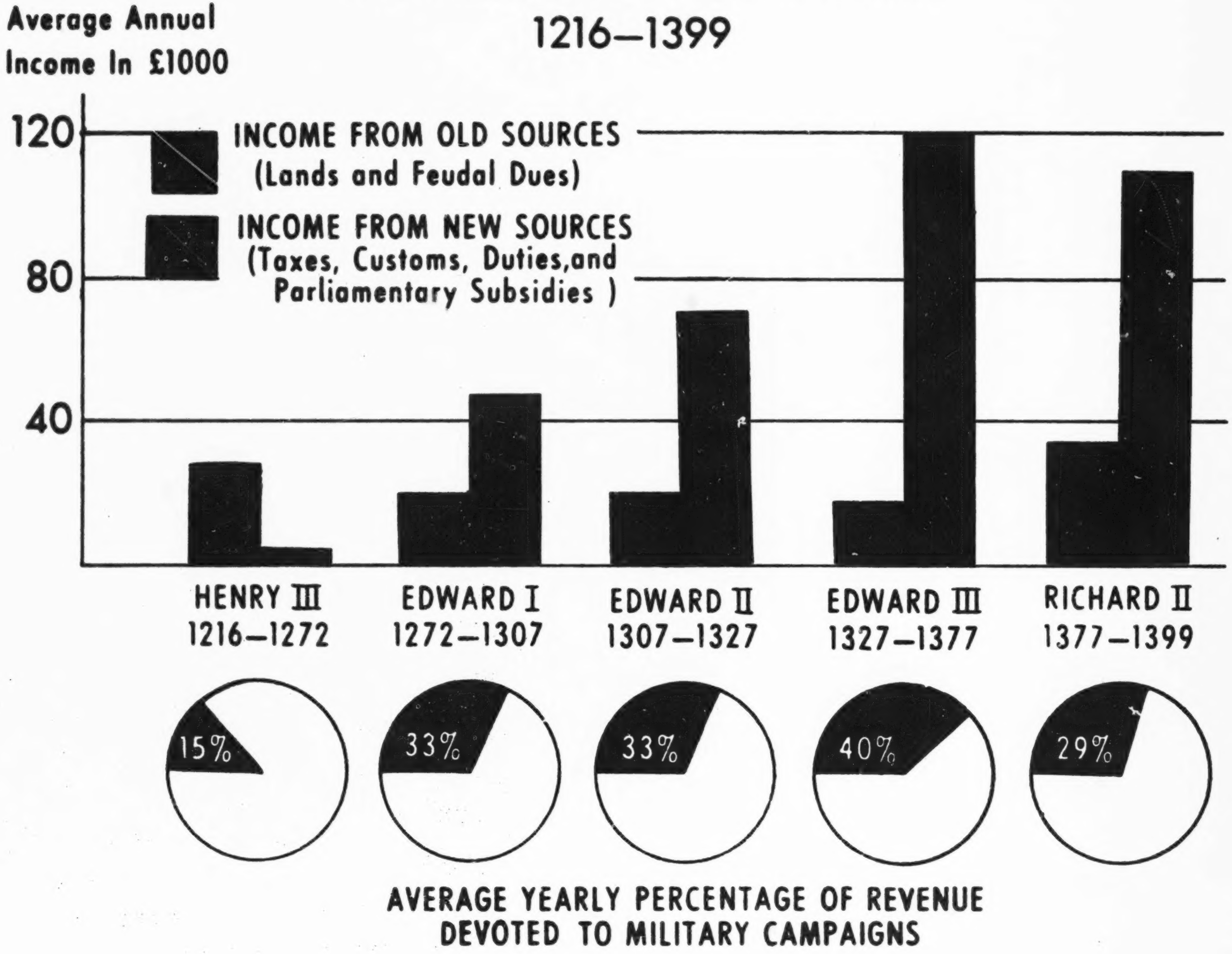
THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENT UNDER EDWARD I

Subject Objectives:	To know that Parliament, and specifically the House of Commons, began to play an ever increasing role in political decision making during the reign of Edward I. To know that the House of Commons increased strength stemmed from the need of the King to obtain more revenue and the increasing wealth of the burghers.
Skill Objectives:	Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - to develop a hypothesis about the relationship between the increasing strength of the House of Commons and the increased need of the King for revenue.
MATERIALS:	Reading 24. Transparency Set: "Factors Affecting the Growth of Parliament"

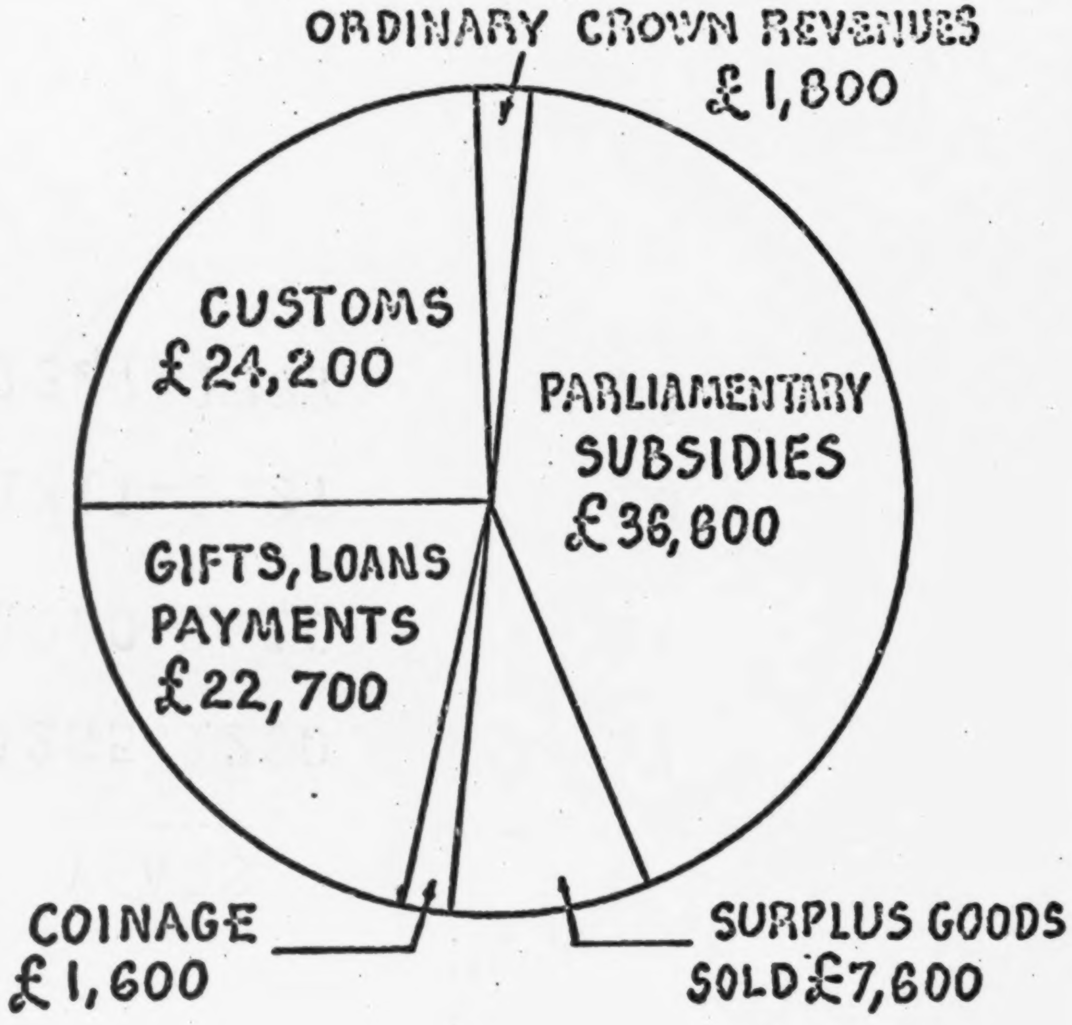
On the basis of the readings, what hypothesis would you make regarding the development of Parliament?	Work toward the hypothesis that the constitution of Parliament was changing - that is, the king was calling upon townspeople (or burghers) more and more. Work toward the idea that the king was calling them to obtain grants to fight his wars (see second paragraph under summons to parliament of 1783). Also work toward the hypothesis that the strength of Parliament was increasing, that the Parliament was seeking to obtain more power - namely power over appointment and power over the king's military expeditions. The Parliament was also seeking independence by proposing that it meet independently of the king's summons. Several secondary questions may have to be asked to get at the hypothesis. These might include: Who was invited to Parliament? (notice that clergy and nobles and commoners are summoned) For what purpose was Parliament called? What did they do there? What were the important matters on which the king desired advice? Did he want only advice, or something more? What did Parliament want? Did they have any chance of getting it?
PROJECT TRANSPARENCY A: **Project without overlay. Ask, "What does this transparency indicate?" Project overlay. Ask, "Why did the king need more revenue?**	This transparency reveals that the king is depending less and less on old sources of revenue (chiefly feudal dues) to get his money. He relies more and more on new sources, in particular those obtained from trade and Parliament. The overlay reveals that the cost of war is becoming more expensive, hence he must tap new sources of income.

PROJECT TRANSPARENCY B: Cover left side of transparency. Ask, "What does this reveal about Edward's need for revenue?" Uncover left side. Ask, "Where does he get this revenue?"	This transparency reveals that the king needs more revenue to fight his wars, reinforcing transparency A. The left side shows that the major portion of his money comes from parliamentary subsidies. It indicates in particular that the king's new sources of revenue are dependent largely on the generosity of Parliament.
What effect would this have on Parliament?	This question is designed to have the students realize that Parliament, in becoming the major source of revenue for the king, also gains more leverage in the process.
PROJECT TRANSPARENCY C: Keep overlay off. Ask, "What happens to Parliament during this period?" Project overlay. Ask, "What does this reveal about why Commons gains strength?"	The students should realize that the House of Commons is gaining in strength. By the time Edward I's reign ends they are being called every time Parliament meets. The overlay indicates that the wealth of commoners is increasing and therefore they are an important source of revenue for the king.
Why do you think Parliament began to gain strength in this period?	Get at a general summary of the data and how it is related. The students should develop the hypothesis that the increasing wealth of the commoners and the increasing needs for revenue gave Parliament leverage for obtaining more power.

ROYAL SOURCES OF INCOME
1216—1399



ANALYSIS OF KING EDWARD I's INCOME
1282 — 1284



TOTAL....£94,700

MILITARY EXPENDITURES OF KING EDWARD I 1272 — 1307

1272	Debts from Edward's Crusade..	£50,000
1276	Campaign in Wales	20.000
1283-5	Campaign in Wales	98,000
1287-8	Ransom Money to King of Aragon	47.000
1295-1301	Wars with Scotland, Wales and France	380,000
1303	Campaign in Scotland.....	50,000
1306-7	Campaign in Scotland...	10,000
	TOTAL	655,000
	Average Cost Per Year.....	18,700

Percentage of Revenues expended on Military Campaigns.......... 33%

ATTENDANCE OF COMMONS AT PARLIAMENTS

1265 - 1377

YEARS	NUMBER OF PARLIAMENTS HELD	NUMBER OF PARLIAMENTS ATTENDED BY COMMONS	PERCENTAGE OF PARLIAMENTS ATTENDED BY COMMONS
1265-1290	37	6	16%
1290-1310	34	13	38%
1311-1327	19	17	89%
1327-1377	50	50	100%

Shaping of Western Society — Lesson Plan — Reading 25

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Subject Objectives: To know that Parliament became independent of monarchical control by means of a mild revolution which resulted in the king's subjectivity to the law.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of Elements (4.10) - to analyze the changes on which seventeenth century constitutional developments are based.

Materials: Reading XXV
"Seventeenth Century Constitutional Developments"

GUIDED DISCOVERY EXERCISE: Ask the class what changes have taken place according to the readings.

The purpose of this question is to clarify the matter of what happened by examining each of the source readings.

I The Bill of Rights: James II abdicated; many of the king's former powers became illegal; rights of members of parliament and of accused persons were established.

II Declaration of William: William and Mary decided to go to England for the purpose of reassembling a lawful Parliament and protecting Protestantism from a threat to its existence.

III The Triennial Act: A new Parliament is to be assembled every three years.

IV An Invitation to William of Orange: William was invited to England because of dissatisfaction with the policies of the King.

V The New Coronation Oath: The King and Queen shall govern England according to the laws of Parliament.

Why did these changes take place?

The students should work toward the conclusion that a revolution forced the changes in the Constitution.

In what chronological order were these documents written?

Allow the class to develop its own reasoning, making sure that students justify their views on why a reading is first, second, etc. The correct order is : IV, II, I, V, III.

Considering the things that happened, what effect would all this have on the new monarchs?

The purpose of this exercise is to force the students to succinctly summarize their discussion as well as hypothesize about the significance of the change. A sample statement might be: "Because they were invited by Parliament to become the rulers of England. William and Mary were forced to accept a change in status: namely, that monarchs were subject to the law. Thus the power structure shifts from a narrow to a much wider base. Is this not one of the foundations of democratic government?

THE GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT

Subject Objectives:	To know that Parliament evolved its strength slowly and innovatively out of a body of British customs and documents.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the changes out of which Parliamentary strength grew.

Materials: Reading XXVI, "The Growth of Parliament"

ADMINISTER TWENTY MINUTE OBJECTIVE EXAM

Why is the growth of Parliament referred to as an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary process?	This question gets at the slow growth of Parliament, making it clear that this was not a quick change that took place. The teacher should get students to describe the change in terms of increases in the strength of the House of Commons. If time permits, ask how the British constitution differs from the American constitution to focus on the unwritten tradition versus the written document as the foundation of the law.

SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

Objective Examination #2
Readings 19-26

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last twenty minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:

Question Sheet
1. Chicago is a
A. state C. country
B. city D. continent

Answer Sheet
1. A X C D

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three.

Questions 1 through 4 are based on Roman Numerals I-IV below.
I The Glorious Revolution
II The Magna Carta
III Nineteenth Century legislation
IV The Reign of Edward I

1. When was the franchise extended to include almost all males over 21?
A. I B. II [✓ C. III] D. IV

2. When was the principle established that the King could not interfere with the liberties of his subjects?
A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

3. When did Parliament become superior to the King?
[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

4. When did Parliament begin to control the purse?
A. I B. II C. III [✓ D. IV]

5. Which of the following statements from the Magna Carta would you choose to justify the hypothesis: "The Magna Carta established the principle that the King was subject to the rule of law."
[✓ A. "No freeman shall be captured or imprisoned...nor will the King go against him...except by lawful judgment of his peers."]
B. "The barons shall elect twenty-five barons of the kingdom."
C. "Civil lawsuits...shall be held in some definite place..."
D. "The city of London shall have all its ancient liberties..."

Questions 6 through 8 refer to the following quotations:

SPEAKER I: "I heartily joined Christopher Columbus. I believed that if there was the slightest chance to find a short route to the worldly riches of the Orient, then the risk was worth taking."

SPEAKER II: "Michelangelo is the greatest artist of our time. His careful attention to anatomy, and the graceful poses of his subjects testify to the dignity and grace of man."

SPEAKER III: "I hope that I can be like Leonardo da Vinci, for he is truly unique. I want to be sure everyone recognizes my work as my own in the same way that everyone knows the particular style of Leonardo."

SPEAKER IV: "Our age is different from the Middle Ages for once again we have discovered, through our careful reading of the classics, that man is worth something and is capable of doing great things. We are not fearful of heaven or hell; we are concerned that our life on earth will be worthwhile."

6. Which of the following hypotheses could be derived from all of the evidence given above?
   A. The Renaissance was a greater era than the Middle Ages for it rediscovered the classics.
   B. Renaissance man believed that he lived in a new era--an era where the dignity, worth, and unique qualities of the individual were recognized.
   [✓ C.] Stimulated by his reading of the classics, Renaissance man came to believe that since each individual life had its own unique worthiness, a man's lifetime should be devoted to acquiring earthly pleasures, and fulfilling his individual potential.
   D. Renaissance man came to believe that great art expresses the dignity of man.

7. Which of the speakers above has secular values?
   A. I only. B. IV only. [✓ C. I and IV only.] D. II, III and IV only.

8. Which of the speakers above expresses the values of humanism?
   A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

9. Which of the following questions would you ask to begin validating the hypothesis, "The King of England began to lose power when Parliament became stronger."
   A. What revolutions took place in England between 1295 and 1788?
   B. Who were the king's advisers when Parliament revolted in 1788?
   [✓ C.] What acts of Parliament limiting the King's power were forced upon the English Kings by Parliament?
   D. Why did commons begin attending more meetings of Parliament in Edward I's time?

Questions 10 through 12 refer to the following facts:

I. Edward I called 30 Parliaments between 1275 and 1286. He called 34 Parliaments between 1290 and 1310.
II. 36.1% of all of Edward I's income for the years of his reign came from subsidies granted by Parliament.
III. During the first 23 years of Edward I's reign, England carried on major military campaigns, costing a total of 215,000 pounds; during the last 12 years of his reign, England carried on 3 campaigns, costing a total of 440,000 pounds.
IV. At the beginning of Edward I's reign, Commons attended only one out of every four parliaments called; at the end, the commons attended every Parliament called.
V. Production of woolen cloth and raw wool rose 25% between 1276 and 1310.

10. Which of the facts given above would you choose to defend the hypothesis: "Commons attended Parliament more frequently toward the end of Edward's reign because they were obtaining the increased revenue needed to finance increasing military costs."
A. I and III only.
B. II, III and IV only.
[✓ C.] III, IV and V only.
D. I, III, IV and V only.

11. Which of the following statements CANNOT be justified by the evidence given above because not enough evidence is provided?
[✓ A.] The nobility began to lose power in this period.
B. The Commons began to gain power in this period.
C. Parliament was an important source of revenue for the King.
D. Edward called fewer Parliaments at the end of his reign than he did in the beginning.

12. The evidence above can help answer all of the following questions EXCEPT:
A. What factors influenced the growth of Parliament during the reign of Edward I?
B. What was the role of Commons in political decision making during the reign of Edward I?
C. To what extent did Parliament contribute to the income of the King?
[✓ D.] How much of the King's revenue was based upon taxes on wool?

13. All of the following describe the well-rounded Renaissance man EXCEPT:
A. being a successful businessman.
[✓ B.] being most concerned with spiritual salvation.
C. having a sense of humor.
D. honoring and patronizing the arts.

14. In which of the following locations were the values of the Italian Renaissance fostered?
A. the manor of a nobleman.
B. the manufacturing centers of Italian cities.
C. the cottage of a serf.
[✓ D.] the townhouse of an Italian merchant.

Questions 15 through 17 refer to the following statements.

I. Sentence #2 provides substantial evidence to confirm the accuracy of sentence #1.

II. Sentence #2 tends to confirm the accuracy of sentence #1, but more evidence is needed to be certain.

III. Sentence #2 provides substantial evidence that sentence #1 is incorrect.

IV. Sentence #2 neither proves nor disproves sentence #1. The two sentences are unrelated.

15. Which of the above statements accurately describes the relationship between the following two sentences?

#1 - "Renaissance artists rejected religious concerns in favor of classical concerns."

#2 - "Michelangelo painted 'The Holy Family,' Leonardo da Vinci painted 'The Last Supper' and Raphael painted 'The School of Athens.'"

A. I B. II [✓ C. III] D. IV

16. Which of the statements above accurately describes the relationship between the following two sentences?

#1 - "Cellini often received the patronage of nobles and clergymen to carry on his artistic endeavors."

#2 - "In his autobiography Cellini tells of how he persuaded the Pope to make him superintendent of the dies, a job that paid six gold crowns a month."

[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

17. Which of the statements above best describes the relationship between the following two sentences.

#1 - "Renaissance man was more concerned about worldly affairs than spiritual affairs."

#2 - "Michelangelo's sculpture accurately reflects the anatomy of the human body."

A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

18. The Magna Carta can best be described as:

A. a democratic document guaranteeing equal rights to all.
B. a document written by a strong king to control the nobility.
[✓ C. a feudal document designed primarily to protect the rights of the nobility.]
D. a feudal document designed primarily to protect the rights of townspeople and clergy.

19. Wealthy men during the Renaissance spent their money in all of the following ways EXCEPT:

A. in building fine homes for themselves to live in.
B. in investing to expand their capital goods.
[✓ C. in providing funds for the relief of the poor.]
D. in supporting struggling artists and musicians.

20. All of the following facts would help substantiate the hypothesis, "The revolution of 1688 established the superiority of the English Parliament over the King," EXCEPT:
   A. The coronation oath of William and Mary, the monarchs who came to the throne as a result of the revolution, stated that the king agreed to govern England "according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on...."
   B. By the Triennial Act passed during the revolution, the King was required to call a new Parliament every three years.
   C. The Bill of Rights, passed during the revolution, states that "the suspending of laws by the king without consent of Parliament is illegal...."
   [✓ D.] In his letter to the revolutionary leaders, William stated "The King and his Counsellors have overturned the religion, Laws and Liberties of England."

21. All of the following are characteristics of Renaissance painting EXCEPT:
   A. Anatomical accuracy.
   B. Earthly settings.
   [✓ C.] Flat backgrounds.
   D. Many colors.

22. Machiavelli believed that the chief aim of the Prince should be:
   A. To see that his subjects are moral.
   B. To see that his subjects are happy.
   C. To see that his subjects attain salvation.
   [✓ D.] To see that his subjects do not overthrow him.

23. Cellini criticized Bandinello's sculpture of Hercules on the grounds that:
   [✓ A.] it did not accurately reflect human proportions.
   B. it was bigger than life size.
   C. it was constructed from poor materials.
   D. it was too ornately decorated.

24. England's Parliament became a legislative body as a result of:
   A. the gradual development of a representative government.
   B. the increased power of the House of Commons.
   [✓ C.] the kings' need for grants of money.
   D. the principles of the Bill of Rights.

25. The Renaissance began in Italy for all of the following reasons EXCEPT:
   [✓ A.] Italy's harsh climate spurred men to works of creative beauty.
   B. Italy's central Mediterranean location made her easily accessible to the cultures of the Middle East, Greece, Western Europe, and North Africa.
   C. Roman and Greek ruins existed on the peninsula.
   D. Trade continued to flourish in Italy during the Middle Ages.

AN ABSOLUTE MONARCH IN ACTION

Subject Objectives:	To know: that the nature of absolute monarchy is that of a sphere; its revolutions are controlled by its axis, the king. He is the ultimate authority. that absolute monarchy requires a king like Louis XIV who is willing to devote his existence to running the government.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to characterize Louis XIV in terms of the qualities that make him an absolute monarch. Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship between the man (Louis XIV) and the institution (absolute monarchy)

Materials: Reading XXVII, "An Absolute Monarch in Action"
Slide Tape, "Versailles: Palace of the Sun King."

SLIDE TAPE: After the class has seen the slide tape, ask what the characteristics of absolute monarchy are.	The purpose of this question is to produce the realization that in an absolute monarchy everything centers around the king. The slide tape clearly illustrates that the building of Versailles, and the lives of all its inhabitants revolved about the whims, tastes, decisions and discretions of Louis.
WRITING EXERCISE: Ask the students to take a minute to write down five or six adjectives which characterize Louis XIV. Then ask, what was this very important monarch like?	Direct class attention to the reading in making the lists. Students should come up with words like vain, pompous, superficial, industrious, religious, cultured, refined, powerful, and so forth. Try to get words that are specific, and list them on the board.
Which of these traits make it possible for Louis to run the kind of government he does?	Allow the rest of the period for this discussion. The necessity for justifying views should readily produce the understanding that hard work is most important. The reading makes it clear that Louis did work at being king, even to the extent of organizing his day so as to have very littly privacy. We may not consider his vanity, tastes, or methods good, but they did contribute to making the position of the King a full time job; nothing was done without his direction.

Slide Tape: Versailles, Palace of the Sun King

1. A view of the Palace from a distance
2. An engraving of Louis XIV
3. Interior of one of the drawing rooms
4. The front court of the Palace, looking out towards the town
5. One of Lebrun's ceiling paintings
6. One of the statuary in the gardens
7. One of the fountains in the garden
8. An interior showing a tapestry
9. A golden statuary
10. Interior showing chandelier
11. A doorway
12. A marble porch
13. The Hall of Mirrors
14. Statue and trees at the rear of the building
15. Exterior gate
16. One of the statues and a pond at the rear of the building
17. The front court, looking towards the Palace
18. An engraving of Paris during the 17th century
19. The front court at Versailles
20. An engraving of Louis with his mistress, Madame de Maintenon
21. An interior showing two tapestries
22. An engraving of a reception for Louis
23. The formal gardens of the Palace at the rear
24. The nobles' apartments
25. A picture of a minor noble
26. A picture of a great noble
27. An interior
28. A picture of an audience with the King
29. The formal gardens
30. The Grande Trianon
31. An interior
32. An interior of the Chapel
33. A picture of a scene from Moliere's The Bourgeois Gentilhomme
34. A picture of a lord and two ladies playing pool
35. A picture of a masked ball
36. A picture of a noble and his lady walking
37. A picture of Louis and the royal family
38. A picture of the Queen's drawing room
39. A picture of the exterior of Versailles from the front court

40. A pictuce of an interior
41. A picture of a marble bas relief of Louis

Slide Tape #3 Day 27

VERSAILLES: PALACE OF THE SUN KING

① This is Versailles, the grand palace of the "Sun King," Louis XIV. As the cynical diarist of the reign, Saint-Simon observed, it was "the saddest and most ungrateful of all places, without a view, without woods or water or good soil, for it all stood upon shifting sands or marshland which inevitably made the air bad." ② Yet it stands as a great monument to a monumental ruler. Versailles is testimony to the power of the absolute monarch to work his will, even on nature, if he chooses to do so. ③ Madame de Motteville, one of the ladies of the court, noted this fact in her memoires: "Versailles was the place he designed for his magnificence in order to show by its adornment what a great king can do when he spares nothing to satisfy his wishes."

④ The king spared nothing to transform the godforsaken marshland into a wonder of the world. Just how much he spent on Versaille's construction will never be known for even the extravagant Louis was dumbfounded by the figures and had all financial records burned.

⑤ Louis commissioned some of the greatest painters in France to adorn the walls and ceilings with heroic paintings. ⑥ He hired sculptors to fashion exquisite statues. ⑦ The sculptors and the hydraulic experts built huge fountains to adorn the gardens. ⑧ From the famous tapestry makers of Gobelin the King obtained masterpieces of their art to hang upon the gilded walls of his palace. ⑨ Goldsmiths fashioned further treasures to enhance the giant chateau. ⑩ Gigantic chandeliers made of the finest crystal were hung from the ceilings. ⑪ Every gilded doorway in the palace was fashioned by the loving, careful hands of wood carvers. ⑫ Exquisite marble from the finest quarries was brought to Versailles to make the giant pillars to support the great edifice. ⑬ Glaziers ground the finest mirrors to adorn the magnificent "Hall of Mirrors." ⑭ Trees from all over France were dug up and carefully transported to Versailles so that every tree native to France might join the statuary in the formal gardens.

(15) Even the less important entrances to the chateau were expensive gold-plated gates. (16) Every human effort was made to see that Versailles would be a fitting residence for the grandest monarch of all time.

(17) Some would say that Versailles was a compulsion with the King, that it was a product of royal madness. If so, there was method in the madness. Versailles was not just a magnificent structure to enhance the royal image of the grand monarch. (18) It was built primarily so that Louis could escape from Paris. Louis hated Paris. He was frightened of the city and its inhabitants. (19) In contrast, he was completely at ease at Versailles -- perhaps because he controlled everything there -- the construction of the palace, the cultivation of the gardens, and the lives of the people who lived there.

(20) He created at Versailles a place for the nobility to seek pleasure and be near the seat of decision making. At the same time he rendered them impotent by denying them any power over the making of those decisions. (21) There he kept them happy with lavish entertainment and a feeling of being involved. There, he supervised their every activity.

(22) There were so many courtiers at the court that Louis had to add giant wings to the palace and (23) construct huge apartment houses to accommodate them.

(24) The typical courtier was a poor noble who was subsidized at the court either by the king or a patron, (25) one of the richer nobles. In return for the subsidy he performed certain duties -- namely waiting on the king and higher ranking nobles. (26) Mostly, however, the courtier's day was frittered away in the ornate drawing rooms exchanging bits of gossip and pretending that he was privy to the high councils of the government. (27) Every courtier exerted most of his energy to obtain an audience with the king about some personal problem. (28) He could talk with the king informally when the monarch walked in the gardens

after dinner, or, if he were very favored, ㉙ he might be invited to one of the other chateaux on the grounds to go hunting with Louis.

To keep the nobles amused, Louis provided many diversions. ㉚ Most of the nobles stood behind this balustrade and watched the king get up in the morning. ㉛ All members of the court attended mass in the magnificent chapel. ㉜ Plays and operas, written by the King's private dramatists and composers were performed in the King's private theater. ㉝ Every evening the courtiers could gamble or play pool. ㉞ Often Louis would hold a giant ball to entertain the nobles. ㉟ Then, of course, the courtier could always devote his attention to flirting with the many ladies who attended the court.

㊱ Versailles was the seat of government where all decisions were made. ㊲ It was a pleasure dome for the elite of France. ㊳ It was a magnificent edifice which glorified its owner. ㊴ It set the style for European culture. ㊵ But whatever it was, Versailles was the universe of Louis XIV where all the courtiers revolved in an orbit around the Sun King.

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY Supplementary Assignment #7

WRITING A RESEARCH PAPER: DEVELOPING AN ATTACK STRATEGY

For Unit XI you will write a research paper about economic growth in 18th century England. To begin preparing for this task, this supplementary assignment and the next two are devoted to introducing you to research techniques. The methods which are introduced in these three assignments should help you go about your research with greater efficiency.

Historical research always begins with a question. The historian becomes curious about the relationships that exist between events and conditions in the past and develops a question which he wishes to answer. For this research paper you will investigate a question that has puzzled many historians, "What caused the economic take-off in eighteenth century Britain?" For this research paper, therefore, you will not have to develop your own question.

The next stage in historical research is to develop an attack strategy for answering the question. If the historian is to focus his energy and his search for evidence, he must plan ahead so that he will not waste time looking at evidence that will be irrelevant. The attack strategy he develops will insure against this problem.

An attack strategy is simply a set of questions which indicate possible answers to his general question. In short, the historian sets up a number of hypotheses to work from. For example, if the historian asks the general question, "Why did the French Revolution take place?" he might develop an attack strategy out of the following questions: 1) Was there any economic distress in France? 2) Were the existing political institutions weakening? 3) Were there any groups who were dissatisfied with the old regime? and so on. Each of these questions implies a possible answer. Each of these questions, therefore, is a hypothesis stated in question form. For example, if the historian seeks to answer the first question, he is seeking evidence that substantiates the hypothesis "Economic distress caused the French Revolution." By seeking evidence to validate a hypothesis the historian can focus his research on one issue. Once he has completed his search for evidence to answer one of his questions he can then turn to the next, and then the next, and so on, until he has found the necessary evidence to answer all of his questions.

For this supplementary assignment you will develop your own attack strategy for the research paper you will write for Unit XI. You should ask yourself from five to ten analytical questions that will help you investigate the general question, "What caused the economic take-off in eighteenth century England?" You will then use this attack strategy when you begin working on the research paper itself. It will prove to be an invaluable aid as you examine the evidence.

MERCANTILISM: THE ECONOMIC SIDE OF FRENCH ABSOLUTISM

Subject Objectives:	To know that the policies of mercantilism made France a command economy which was directed by the King. To know that the purposes of mercantilism were to make France a self-sufficient nation and to increase the monarch's wealth.
Skill Objectives:	Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to develop the conclusion that this was a state-directed economy. Analysis of Elements" (4.10) - to analyze the elements of this command economy and the assumptions underlying it.

Materials: Reading XXVIII,
"Mercantilism: The Economic Side of French Absolutism"

WRITING EXERCISE: Ask each student to draw an organizational chart indicating those who made economic decisions and to whom those decisions were transmitted.	The purpose of this exercise is to force each student to think in graphic terms about the economic structure. While everyone is working, some students might be using the chalk board. The charts will be probably either pie-shaped or in the form of ladders. The king should be at the center or top transmitting economic decisions through Colbert and M. LeBrun on down to the merchants and intendants and from them to the workers.
What is mercantilism?	On the basis of these charts and their ninth grade economic study, the class should recognize mercantilism as being a command economy directed by the King.
What decisions were made about what, how, and for whom goods and services should be produced?	This question gets back to the analytic economic questions. What: Royal tapestires are definitely discussed and these is also reference to foreign commerce. How: Allocation of the labor force and resources are illustrated by the formation of the tapestry factory. The letter to intendants indicates a kind of quality control. For Whom: This is a subtle point of considerable importance since it goes beyond recognizing that those who can buy will receive. For example: a. production was for the king; witness "Royal Manufacture of Furnishings for the Crown" at the tapestry factory. b. production was for the economic growth of the nation; "Letter to the Merchants of Marseilles" prescribes measures to facilitate the growth of trade internally while "The Memoranda of Colbert" indicates means for the growth of foreign trade. Their purpose

	does not indicate a concern for raising the individual's standard of living but of increasing the wealth and prestige of France.
Why were these decisions made instead of some others?	This question gets down to the implicit assumptions on which mercantilism in France was founded. a. On the assumption that there is only a certain amount of commerce in the world, "The Memoranda of Colbert" points out that wealth can only be attained by taking trade away from another country. b. A king of the character of Louis XIV could not have permitted any other type of economy to exist. Just as his hard work and vanity made him the most important political figure, so they dictate the necessity for him completely controlling the economy.

DIVINE RIGHT IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Subject Objectives:

To know the ideological, personality, and practical factors that entered into decision-making in France.

To know that the revoaction of the Edict of Nant was Louis XIV's means of extending his authority over the Huguenots, the only class in the social structure outside his control.

To know that the decision to revoke the Edict of Nantes alienated the Huguenots. Since they were a middle class group on which the economy was highly dependent, the revocation was inconsistent with Louis' economic decisions.

Skill Objectives:

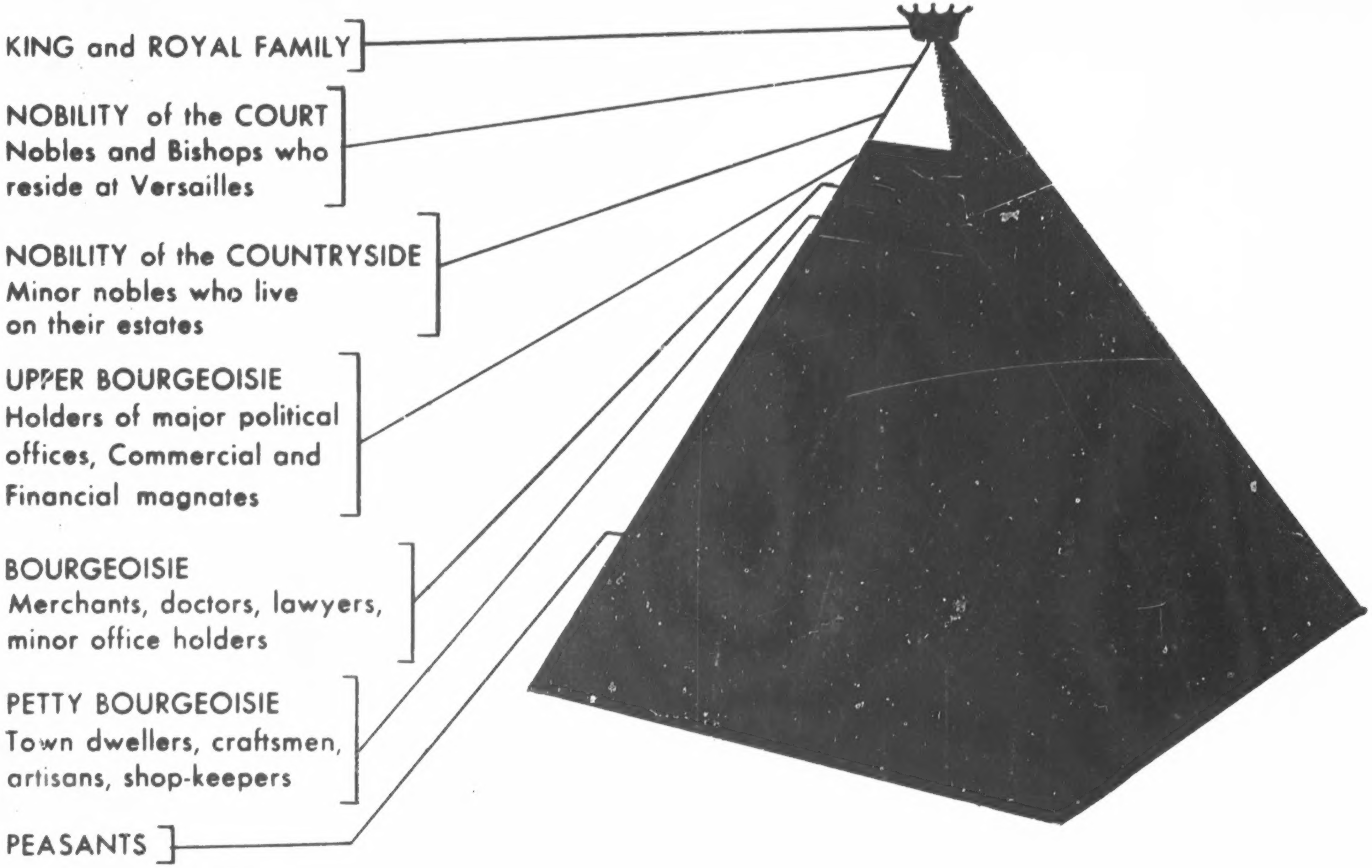
Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to hypothesize about the reasons for which Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes.
Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship of the King to the Huguenots and of the Huguenots to the economy.

Materials: Reading XXIX, "Divine Right in Theory and Practice"
Transparency: "Social Organization at the Time of Louis XIV"

What was nullified by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes?	All of the civil and religious rights accorded to French Protestants by Henry IV in 1598.
FREE DISCUSSION: "Why did Louis revoke the Edict of Nantes?"	Have students justify their reasons with specific references to the readings. Bishop Bossuet: As a divine right monarch, Louis may have acted as he did simply because he wanted to, so long as his actions promoted God's will. Get at the definition of "divine right". Louis XIV Revokes the Edict of Nantes: He says all the Huguenots had become Catholics anyway, so the Edict was no longer necessary. Louis indicates he is trying to unify the country religiously. Saint Simon Describes the Effects of Revocation: The Edict was revoked because Madame de Maintenon made Louis believe doing so would add to his grandeur and to his chances of achieving salvation Further, Saint Simon says that Louis wanted everyone to think and act as he did.
Whom do you trust, Louis or Saint Simon?	This question gets at the difference in the frame of reference. Louis thought he had done something good whereas Saint Simon points out the human wreckage and hypocrisy it caused. Louis' view of himself never appears to be very realistic Moreover, Saint Simon indicates that this decision was economically harmful since many

	Huguenots fled the country taking their manufacturing and business skills with them. This is inconsistent with Louis' desire to build up the economy.
What does this indicate about Louis' motives?	The class should become aware of the political, economic, and social controls exercised on the classes. Aristocracy: remind class of slide tape. The aristocracy was controlled by the strict etiquette imposed on them and by the very fact that they lived at Versailles. They were dependent on Louis' favor for everything; thus, he kept them unable to participate in the political decision-making process. Saint Simon says that he never selected the most competent of the nobility to assist him. Most noblemen were exempt from taxes too. Bourgeoisie: controlled economically by means of the centralized or common decision-making apparatus. Peasants: were controlled by the king through the nobility. The aristocracy was still a landed gentry dependent on peasants for labor to provide their wealth. Peasants also heavily taxed. Whatever his own rationalization might have been, it appears that Louis was extending his authority int the middle class. Until then, the Huguenots were not as completely under his thumb as other groups were.

Social Structure At The Time Of Louis XIV


KING and ROYAL FAMILY
NOBILITY of the COURT
Nobles and Bishops who reside at Versailles
NOBILITY of the COUNTRYSIDE
Minor nobles who live on their estates
UPPER BOURGEOISIE
Holders of major political offices, Commercial and Financial magnates
BOURGEOISIE
Merchants, doctors, lawyers, minor office holders
PETTY BOURGEOISIE
Town dwellers, craftsmen, artisans, shop-keepers
PEASANTS

LOUIS XIV: THE ANATOMY OF ABSOLUTISM

Subject Objectives: To know that absolutism, as it existed in France under Louis XIV, directed and regulated every aspect of political and economic life and made heavy inroads into social freedom.

Skill Objectives: Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30): To develop a conclusion about the relationships between mercantilism, the structure of government, the personality of the king and the palace setting of the monarchy.

Materials: Reading XXX, "Louis XIV: The Anatomy of Absolutism"
Slide Tape: "Versailles: Palace of the Sun King"

ADMINISTER OBJECTIVE TEST:
Allow twenty minutes.

SLIDE TAPE: After showing the slide tape again, in the few remaining minutes, ask students to make a clear statement about the role of the absolute monarch.

NOTE: Check PANEL DISCUSSION on Lesson Plan 31 for a special assignment to be given four students.

SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

Objective Examination #3
Readings 27-30

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last twenty minutes. It consists of fifteen questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:

Question Sheet
1. Chicago is a
A. state C. country
B. city D. continent

Answer Sheet
1. A X C D

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three.

1. Which of the following groups of people had most access to the King?
A. Businessmen
[✓ B.] Nobles
C. Peasants
D. Urban workers

2. Absolute monarchy may fail if:
[✓ A.] the king does not diligently apply himself to the problems of government.
B. the king does not possess all the social graces.
C. the king's religion is not the same as that of his subjects.
D. the king spends all his money on extravagances.

3. All of the following resulted from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes EXCEPT:
A. The Catholic Church became the only legal church in France.
B. Countless valuable economic skills were lost when the Huguenots left France.
[✓ C.] France was unified by a tremendous religious fervor.
D. Many people lost their guarantees of religious freedom.

4. Most Huguenots were:
A. working class artisans.
[✓ B.] middleclass businessmen.
C. peasants.
D. upper class aristocracy.

5. Which of the following men was, in effect, the Prime Minister of France during the late 17th century?
A. Bossuet
B. Colbert
[✓ C.] Louis XIV
D. Saint-Simon

Questions 6 through 9 refer to the following quotations.

I. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes...were the fruits of a frightful plot, in which the new wife (Madame de Maintenon) was one of the chief conspirators.

II. "(In order to be rid of) the evils which the progress of this false religion has caused in this kingdom...(I) revoke the Edict of Nantes."

III. "The King congratulated himself on his power and his piety. He believed himself to have renewed the days of the preaching of the Apostles."

IV. "(Kings) are by their very office the representatives of the divine majesty deputed by Providence for the execution of His purposes...."

6. Which of the following questions can be answered with the evidence given above?
   - [✓ A.] Why did Louis decide to revoke the Edict of Nantes?
   - B. What were the effects of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes?
   - C. Was Louis XIV justified in revoking the Edict of Nantes?
   - D. How great was Louis XIV's power over Frenchmen?

7. Which of the following hypotheses would you consider to be most valid, based upon the above evidence?
   - A. Louis was often advised by his wife on important matters.
   - [✓ B.] Louis believed that his decision to revoke the Edict of Nantes was motivated by his religion.
   - C. Louis was motivated by religion in revoking the Edict of Nantes.
   - D. Louis was a religious man.

8. Which of the quotations above were written by people who believed that the King was responsible for the spiritual salvation of his subjects?
   - A. I and III only.
   - B. II and III only.
   - [✓ C.] II and IV only.
   - D. II, III, and IV only.

9. Which of the above quotations would you choose to support the hypothesis: "Louis was strongly influenced by those who had easy access to him."

   [✓ A.] I B. II C. III D. IV.

10. All of the following are reasons for France's having developed a mercantilist economy EXCEPT:
    - A. A mercantilist economy extended the power of the King.
    - B. Colbert believed that national wealth was acquired by taking trade away from other countries.
    - [✓ C.] Colbert believed that the system would encourage growth in farm production to overcome agricultural scarcity.
    - D. The King and Colbert believed that the people were generally incapable of making economic decisions that would benefit the country.

11. Which of the following would probably NOT be the product of a mercantilist economy?
A. Increased wealth for the central government.
B. The development of a sense of national interest among the people.
C. Increased centralization of power for the government.
*D. Reduction of prices to meet competition.

12. Which of the following had the greatest influence on the decisions of Louis XIV?
*A. The bourgeois ministers.
B. The noble officials.
C. The peasants.
D. The queen.

13. Louis XIV constructed Versailles for all of the following reasons EXCEPT:
A. to control the nobility.
B. to escape from Paris.
*C. to get the country air.
D. to glorify himself.

14. "(The King's power) is borrowed from God, who gives it to him for the good of the people, for whom it is good to be checked by a superior force." This statement, from Bossuet,
1. states the principle of Christian government.
2. warns kings to give the people what they want.
3. warns the king to keep close ties with the church.
*4. justifies absolute monarchy by divine right.

15. Which of the following quotations from Saint-Simon does NOT support the conclusion that Louis XIV was an absolute monarch.
*A. "On Sunday, and often on Monday, there was a council of State."
B. "(Louis) chose his ministers...for their ignorance...He liked to form them."
C. "(Louis) instructed his cooks...in lessons they had known by heart for years."
D. "(Louis' levee) included everybody in any office. He gave orders to each for the day,...thus it was known what he meant to do."

MEDIEVAL SCIENCE

Subject Objectives:

To know that the purpose of medieval science was to teach moral lessons.

To know that medieval science contained some of the elements of modern scientific methods, but that they were used in a haphazard way.

To know that medieval science tended to rest more on the authority of the church and the classical authority of Aristotle rather than on empirical observation and reason.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of elements (4.10) - to analyze the elements of medieval scientist's frame of reference, specifically for his purposes and his methods.

Materials: Reading XXXI, "Medieval Science"

WRITING EXERCISE: Suppose you were a student in a medieval university. You have just read "A Compendium of Scientific Knowledge" and "Medieval Astronomy." Write a paragraph in which you explain what you learned from these selections.	The purpose of this exercise is to get the students to analyze the two documents to discover what purpose the medieval writers had. Some of the students should come up with moral lessons that are taught in the reading.
What do you think was the major purpose of science in the middle ages?	Work with the student responses to the first subject objective of the lesson.
PANEL DISCUSSION: Select four students to represent: 1) An aristotelian philosopher 2) St. Thomas Aquinas 3) Roger Bacon 4) Adelard Have the panel discuss the question: "How should we proceed with a scientific investigation?"	It would be a good idea to choose the four students the day before this lesson is taught so that they canespecially prepare for their role. The four of them should discuss the question, arguing at times over their differences. The following positions should be taken by the four students. 1) Aristotelian-consult Aristotle; he has all the answers. We need not look further. 2) Aquinas-consult the holy scriptures and use reason to interpret them. 3) Bacon-consult your experience and use reason to interpret it. 4) Adelard-he is more or less Baconian, but shows the problem of lack of systematic inquiry.
Do these men have anything in common?	The students should interpret the panel discussion to see what elements the four have in common. The students should recognize that there was no agreed upon formula for discovering scientific truth, but that most of the philosophers agree that reason is a useful tool and that experience can sometimes be a guide.

WRITING A RESEARCH PAPER: DEVELOPING A WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY

Once the historian has developed his initial attack strategy, he must then concentrate on finding evidence that will help him answer his questions. In looking for evidence he will use the resources of the library--the card catalogue, the indexes of periodicals, the bibliographies of books in the library, and so on. For every possible source of information he will make a bibliography card. Using a three by five index card he will write the name of the author at the left on the top line. If he wishes to know where the book is located in the library he will write the call number of the book at the right on the top line. On the next line he will write the title of the book, and then the place and date of publication in parentheses. He will then have all of the information about the book that he will need in making up his final bibliography at the end of the paper.

But the author, title, and publication information is not all the historian needs for doing research. On each card he will also need to indicate what kind of information the book contains and which question or questions in his attack strategy the book will help him answer. In assembling this working bibliography, then, the historian will make a note of how the book will be helpful to him in his research. To make this notation he will have to make a preliminary examination of the book to see what kind of information it contains. In this preliminary examination the historian will look first at the table of contents to discover what chapters will aid him, and then he will skim a few pages of the chapters he thinks will be pertinent to his research.

For this assignment you will make bibliography cards for the excerpts contained on pages 245 to 299 in your book of readings. Note down all the pertinent publication information from the title page, and then skim the pages reproduced to find out what kind of information you will find there. Use the following sample card from the first excerpt to guide you.

Ashton, T. S.

An Economic History of England: The 18th Century
(New York, 1954)

good for religious convictions of inventors, the
make up of English social structure and influence
on take-off.

THE WORLD OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SCIENTISTS

Subject Objectives: To know that the seventeenth century was an amenable environment for scientific advancement, but that it also contained elements of hostility toward scientific discoveries.

Skill Objectives: Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - To develop a hypothesis about the relationship between the social environment of the seventeent century and the scientific advances made at that time.

Analysis of relationships (4.20) - To analyze the relationship between the hypothesis and the evidence in the readings.

Materials: Reading XXXII "The World of the Seventeenth Century Scientists"
Handout: A Chronology of Science

HANDOUT: Distribute handout and allow time for reading. Tell students the chronology was drawn up by a historian of science. Ask them to figure out what his "frame of reference" was.	This chronology is to be used to develop a hypothesis about the environmental factors involved in the scientific revolution. The students shoul see that the historian of science is concerned about more than scientific discoveries. He is concerned with the environment of scientific discoveries as well.
On the basis of this chronology, what hypothesis might you make regarding the relationship between scientific advance and the social environment?	From the chronology the students should develop a hypothesis that scientific advancements take place when the social environment is not hostile to it. They should develop a hypothesis about the seventeenth century that scientific progress speeded up largely because the period was amenabl to science.
Let's check our hypothesis about the seventeenth century against the evidence in the reading.	The students should comb the evidence to justify or modify the hypothesis. They should point out the following: a) Galileo complains that the professors in the universities and the church are persecuting him. The environment is hostile. b) Galileo writes his patron, indicating that society was willing to patronize scientists. The students should remember that Lorenzo de Medeci was a Renaissance man and they can then draw a connection between the Renaissance and the pace of scientific discovery. c) The printing press made it possible to spread ideas quickly and accurately. This provides an aid to the scientist.

d) Copernicus's frame of reference was that of medieval men, and he had to overcome it--break through to his great discovery about the revolutions of the planets. Here the idealogical environment was "hostile" to the new science. The environment had to be overcome.

How would you now modify your hypothesis?

The students should modify the hypothesis to take into account the hostile elements toward scientific discovery, but the major thrust should remain --that the seventeenth century was an environment that encouraged scientists.

Class Handout

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE

A prominent historian of science has drawn up the chronology which follows to help explain the development of science over the past 2000 years. Review this list of dates to determine the following:

1. **The frame of reference of a historian of science.**
   - **A. Why does he include the items he does?**
   - **B. What does this historian consider to be important events in the history of science? What kinds of events bear upon the development of scientific thought?**
   - **C. What relationships does the historian imply between scientific discoveries and other events that are not discoveries in science?**

2. **An hypothesis about the way in which scientific discoveries have developed.**
   - **A. Do scientific discoveries seem to have come in spurts? If so, when?**
   - **B. What would you guess would account for the presence--or absence--of spurts of scientific achievement?**

CHRONOLOGY OF HISTORY OF SCIENCE

3000 B.C.	Peak of Sumerian bronze age metallurgy.
2500 B.C.	Sumerian number system fully developed.
3000 B.C.	Egyptian number system fully developed.
2000 B.C.	Babylonian astronomical tradition established.
1000 B.C.	Accurate records of Babylonian astronomers.
2000 B.C.	Egyptian medical tradition established.
2000 B.C.	Babylonian medical tradition established.
1400 B. C.	West Asia iron smelting.
700 B.C.	Babylonian chemical texts.
625-500 B.C.	Flourishing of Ionian nature philosophers.
460-377 B.C.	Hippocratean school of medicine.
488-300 B.C.	Athenian school of philosophy.
399 B.C.	Death of Socrates.
427-347 B.C.	Plato.
400 B.C.	Eudoxus constructs geometrical model of heavens.
342-322 B.C.	Aristotle creates coherent system of sciences; founds several branches of biology; develops foundation of logic.
342-270 B.C.	Epicurus revives atomic theory in hostility to religion.
332 B. C.	Founding of Alexandria, center of science until submerged by Christianity circa 500 A.D.
ca. 300 B.C.	Euclid systematizes geometry.
287-212 B.C.	Archimedes, mathematician, physicist, engineer; killed by Roman soldiers during sack of Syracuse.
250 B.C.	Eratosthenes measures circumference of earth by astronomical-geometrical calculations.
ca. 270 B.C.	Aristarchus proposes heliocentric system.
ca. 150 B.C.	Hipparchus calculates precession of equinoxes.
50 B.C.	Lucretius composes great nature poem, De Rerum Natura, developing strict materialistic and atomistic theory of cosmos.
150 A.D.	Ptolemy's Almagest completes ancient astronomy.
180 A.D.	Galen writes last comprehensive corpus of ancient medicine.
200-250 A.D.	Plotinus develops mystical neo-Platonism.
550 A.D.	John Philoponus suggests impetus theory as foundation of dynamics. (To be revived in thirteenth century Paris.)

Chronology of History of Science (2)

634-750	Creation of Islamic Empire. Translation of Greek corpus of science into Arabic.
850-1100	Flourishing of Islamic science, particularly astronomy, mathematics, medicine.
13th century	Mongol conquerors destroy centers of Islamic science.
1214-1294	Roger Bacon experiments in optics, physics, chemistry.
1225-1274	Thomas Aquinas: integration of Catholic theology and philosophy of Aristotle.
1330	Jean Buridan criticizes fallacies of Aristotelian physics.
1380	Nicolas of Oresme develops methods for graphical representation of problems of motion; adopts theory of daily rotation of earth.
1436-1450	Guttenberg develops printing techniques in Germany.
1450	Nicola of Cusa proposes infinite extent of universe on scientific grounds.
1450-1500	Renaissance artists, engineers, architects.
1517	Martin Luther proclaims ninety-five theses against Roman Church.
1527	Paracelsus burns traditional books of medicine.
1535	John Calvin publishes Institutes of the Christian Religion, systematizing Luther's revolt against Rome.
1540-1603	Francois Viète develops foundation of algebraic language.
1543	Copernicus publishes his main work, The Revolution of the Heavenly Spheres, after thirteen years hesitation.
1546-1601	Tycho Brahè develops instruments for precise astronomical observation; the most accurate data prior to invention of the telescope.
1600	Giordano Bruno burned at stake for asserting infinite extent of universe.
1600	William Gilbert publishes account of magnetic phenomena in De Magnete, complete with experimental data.
1609	Kepler's First and Second Laws announced.
1610	Galileo's telescopic discoveries; mountains of moon, sun-spots, moons of Jupiter, composition of Milky Way.
1618	Kepler's Third Law.
1620	Francis Bacon publishes Great Instauration.

Chronology of History of Science (3)

1628	William Harvey establishes circulation of the blood.
1633	Galileo condemned by Inquisition.
1634	Galileo's law of freely falling bodies.
1637	Descartes' analytical geometry.
1638	Descartes extends Snell's law of optical refraction.
1639	Desargues' projective geometry.
1642	Death of Galileo Birth of Newton
1645	Founding of Royal Society (chartered 1662).
1648	Pascal's law of fluid pressure.
1648-1716	Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz-co-discoverer of calculus, universal scholar, philosopher, logician.
1655	Huyghens discovers rings of Saturn.
1662	Robert Boyle establishes basic law of gases.
1666	French Royal Academy of Sciences established.
1667	John Locke publishes *Essay on Toleration*.
1668	Newton designs first reflecting telescope.
1674	Spinoze publishes his *Ethics*.
1675	Roemer makes first determination of velocity of light.
1675	Royal astronomical observatory at Greenwich organized.
1677	Leeuwenhoek makes first discoveries with microscope.
1687	Newton publishes his *Principia*, or Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy, embodying elements of his astronomy, dynamics, and philosophy of science; based upon his mastery of differential and integral calculus.
1690	Locke publishes *Essay on Human Understanding*.
1704	Newton publishes *Opticks*, embodying work completed earlier.
1705	Newton knighted.
1727	Sir Isaac Newton dies and is buried in Westminster Abbey.
1740-1760	Voltaire spreads Newtonian teachings and fame in Europe.
1750-1797	Immanuel Kant develops the first philosophical system based on Newtonian science.

Shaping of Western Society — Lesson Plan, Reading 33

THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

Subject Objectives: To know that the methods and purposes of scientific investigation changed in the Seventeenth Century.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of Organizational Principles (4.30) - to analyze the methods of the Seventeenth Century scientist.

Analysis of Elements (4.10) - To analyze the underlying purposes of scientific investigation as conceived by Seventeenth Century scientists.

Materials: Reading XXXIII, "The Nature and Significance of the Scientific Revolution"
Transparency - "Why is Sea Water Salty?"

TRANSPARENCY: Flash the transparency and ask students to describe how each of the scientists would go about investigating the problem posed, given all the elements on the transparency.

This exercise is designed to help students understand the methods proposed by Descartes, Bacon and Newton. The teacher should have the students work from the readings to tell approximately the following stories about how each would investigate the problem.

Descartes - Descartes is a rationalist. He believes that the major problems can be solved by reason alone. He would stay in the house and cogitate in the following manner. The sea has salt water. The lake has fresh water. The stream connects the lake and the sea. Ergo: The stream must carry salt from the lake to the sea. Having done this, Descartes is satisfied. (He does not test the hypothesis--he stays in the house, never venturing out).

Bacon - Bacon is an empiricist. He would begin by making experiements. He might collect samples of the waters and evaporate them to see where the salt is. He might dam up the stream and see if salt collects at the bottom of the dam. At any rate, he would experiment--but in hit or miss fashion. He would not begin with a hypothesis. In telling the story, the students should say that Bacon rushes right out of the house to begin experiments.

Newton - Newton combines the two methods. He would begin rationally by constructing a hypothesis, much the way Descartes did. Then he would design an experiment, much the way Bacon did, to test the hypothesis. To tell the story, he would sit in the house, thinking for awhile and then go out and perform an experiment.

How would you contrast the methods of Seventeenth Century and medieval scientists?

Get at the differences in the approach. The students should see that the Newtonian method has systematized the way of using reason and experiment to derive an explanation. As opposed to the variety of methods of the Middle Ages, a systematic method evolved in the Seventeenth Century. The emphasis

	on the authority of God as revealed in the scriptures or on the statements of Aristotle have passed from the scene.
According to Leibniz, what was the purpose of science?	The students should see from this prediction of a "world's fair" that science was to achieve secular ends, not teach moral lessons. The world was to be a more comfortable place to live in.
What was the scientific revolution?	The students should summarize what they've learned-namely, that the scientific revolution was a change in the way people studied the physical world and in the purposes of studying it.

A NOTE TO TEACHERS ON THIS HANDOUT

This handout is designed to replace the transparency originally intended for Lesson 33. In place of the procedures described in the lesson plan, proceed as follows. Pass out the handout and allow the students to read it. Then ask them to decide which of the scientists would proceed most like Bacon, which the most like Newton and which the most like Descartes. (The first is Descartes, the second is Bacon, and the third is Newton.) Have the students identify the three scientists in the reading on this basis and have them write their answers on a piece of paper. Once this is done continue discussion by asking a student to read his answers. See if others in the class agree or disagree with the first student's choices. Get the students to justify their choices on the basis of the first three selections in Reading 33.

WHY IS SEA WATER SALTY?

Imagine that you overhear the discussion of three seventeenth century scientists. They are discussing how they would go about answering the question that puzzled the medieval scientist in Reading 31, "Why is sea water salty?" The first scientist speaks:

"I could solve the problem in my study. By a process of deductive reasoning I establish a set of premises based on what is known for certain and then make a conclusion. For instance, I would start with the premise that the sea is salty, but lakes and streams are not. However, streams connect lakes with the sea. Therefore I conclude that salt is taken from the lakes by the streams and deposited in the sea."

The second scientist retorts: "But how can you make any conclusion without actually observing the phenomena? Your conclusion stands a better chance of being accurate if you actually look at the phenomena of nature. I would start by collecting samples of water at the lake, from the stream, and from the sea. I find no salt in the lake, some salt being carried by the stream and much salt in the sea. Therefore I reach the same conclusion but I have found out by observing nature rather than thinking about it."

The third scientist joins in: "Neither of you are really pursuing the matter rightly. The first of you would not be able to demonstrate that the conclusion is, in fact, true, for you won't have tested it against the evidence. The second of you have taken far too long to discover a relatively simple principle. If you combine your two methods you will gain accuracy and efficiency. For instance, if we start with deductive reasoning, taking what is known and establishing what we need to find out, then we can observe only that part of nature that is necessary to validate our hypothesis. In this case I would start the way the first scientist did by stating that we know that the lake has fresh water and the sea has salt water and that the stream connects the two. Once we know this we can construct the hypothesis that perhaps the stream carries salt from the lake to the sea. If this is so, then the stream will contain some salt in its water. Al we need observe, therefore, is the water in the stream at the point where the stream leaves the lake. If there is salt in the water there, we have proven our hypothesis."

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Subject Objectives: To know that the seventeenth century scientific revolution created an entirely new frame of reference for thought procedures.

Skill Objectives: Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5,30) - to mak a hypothesis about the change the scientific revolution created in man's frame of reference.

Materials: ReadingXXXIV,"The Scientific Revolution of the Seventeenth Century"
Transparency, "Ptolemy's Universe"

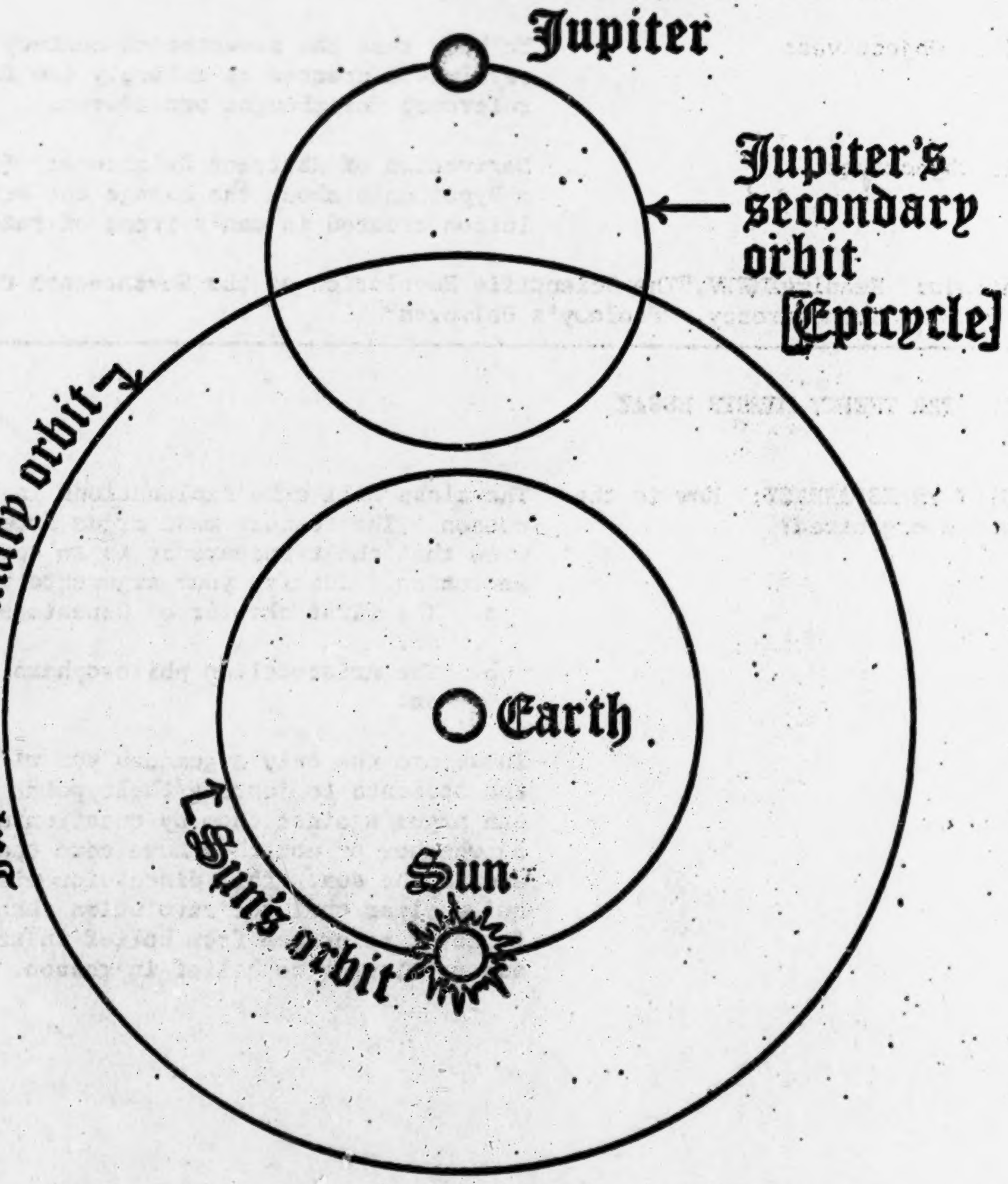
ADMINISTER TWENTY MINUTE ESSAY EXAM

PROJECT TRANSPARENCY: How is the universe organized?

The class will make explanations in terms of reason. The teacher must argue from the point of view that the transparency is an accurate representation. Justify your arguments with proof:

a. The first chapter of Genesis says it is so.
b. The Aristotelian philosophers say it is so.

These are the only arguments you will need. Get the students to justify their point of view. You can argue against them by questioning such things as whether or not they have seen the earth go around the sun. This discussion will make it quite clear that the revolution changed man's frame of reference from belief in tradition and revelation to belief in reason.


Jupiter
Jupiter's secondary orbit [Epicycle]
Jupiter's primary orbit
Earth
Sun
Sun's orbit

Ptolemy's View of the Heavens........

The seventeenth century was the Age of Louis XIV. It was also the Age of the Scientific Revolution. Which of these two aspects of the seventeenth century do you consider to be the most important in the Shaping of Western Society? Write an essay in which you choose either of the two aspects and tell why you believe it is the most important. In defending your position you will have to explain what you mean by important. Be sure to write at least one paragraph at the beginning of your essay in which you explain your definition of importance and devote the remainder of your paper to justifying why either of the two aspects of the seventeenth century fulfill your definition.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE MARKET

Subject Objective:	To know what changes took place in Europe to break the hold of tradition on the economy.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements (4.10) - to analyze the elements of the medieval economy in terms of the changes that were taking place. Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - to develop the relationship between changes in the political, value and social systems and the changes in the economy.

Materials: Reading XXXV
Reading XVI (for comparative purposes)
Transparency - "The Medieval Economic System"

Procedure:

PROJECT TRANSPARENCY:

1. How were these basic economic decisions made during the Middle Ages?	Get the students to discuss the bases for making the what, how, and for whom decisions based on what they remember from Reading XVI. Almost all of them were based on Tradition.
2. Let's list some of the factors which caused the economy to change.	List these factors on the board as the students name them from the readings.
3. How might each of these factors change the ways in which the three basic questions were answered?	Begin with the what question and examine the impact of each change upon it. Then switch to the how and the for whom questions in order.
4. What has happened to the traditional economy of Europe during the centuries covered by these readings?	Here the students should be encouraged to discuss the degree to which market and command decisions have invaded the hold of tradition over the economic decision-making process.

WRITING A RESEARCH PAPER: NOTE TAKING

Once his attack strategy is developed and his working bibliography assembled, the historian then begins to examine the evidence itself. As he works through the books and articles he has gathered, he makes notes on index cards. He does not take notes in a notebook. By using cards he is able to put the notes about one subject on one card. Since he will undoubtedly encounter information about a particular subject at various times during his search for evidence, he will then be able to keep together all of his index cards on any given subject. He will not have to leaf through a notebook looking for notes about one subject that are scattered on several different pages. When he comes to writing his paper, therefore, all of the notes about one subject are together on a set of index cards. The historian only needs to look at these cards before including the information in his paper.

The directions for making note cards will be found on pages 240 and 241 in your book of readings. Using the sample on page 240 as a guide, take notes on pages 246-248 (or pages 20-22 in Ashton) on 4x6 or 5x8 index cards or pieces of paper.

Shaping of Western Society

Lesson Plan, Reading 36

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARKET - A CASE STUDY

Subject Objective: To know the factors that produced Economic Growth of Holland.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of Elements (4:10)
Analysis of Relationship (4.20)

Materials: Reading XXXVI

Procedure:

What factors were responsible for Holland's economic growth?	Get the students to list the factors and write them on the board. a) Monetary measure b) Delete tradition c) New attitude
WRITING EXERCISE: "Can you group these factors in a way which is particularly useful for economic analysis?" Check the students' categories as they work individually. Have one student read his scheme and others criticize it.	They should group them into human, natural and capital resources. They have learned this system in the ninth grade.
Of the three types of resources which seems to have been the most important?	Human resources were. The Dutch imported much of their raw material and used human resources to develop capital. Students may wish to discuss the vital role played by human resources in all cases of economic growth.
Who made the "what" decision in Holland?	Here encourage discussion of the way in which private citizens made these decisions. Concentrate on the way in which the herring industry developed as an example of the process.
What about the "how" decision?	Use the herring industry to show private citizens combined 3 factors of production to make goods.
And the "for whom".	Once more the market is in control.
Could Holland have developed before the changes described in Reading 35?	Clearly not. Get students to examine why by going over changes discussed in the previous lesson in the context of the economic history of Holland.

Shaping of Western Society — Lesson Plan, Readings 37 and 38

Subject Objective: To analyze Adam Smith's concept of an economic system.

Skill Objective Analysis (4.00)

Materials: Readings 37 and 38
Handout: "How Laissez-Faire Operates"
Transparency: "Criteria for Competitive Industry"

Procedure:

According to Adam Smith, what is the objective of an economic system?	Focus attention on first paragraph of reading. Here Smith proclaims the consumer as sovereign arguing that an economy exists to bring the best possible goods to the consumer at the lowest possible price.
How did Smith hope to reach this objective?	Laissez-faire. Make sure that students realize clearly that laissez-faire is a means and not an end in itself.
Where did Smith get the idea of laissez faire?	Lead discussion of four points in Introduction. Lead students to see Smith as a "man of his time".
Pass out the handout; give students time to read it. Then ask how Smith's system was supposed to work.	This handout describes the way in which a competitive system sets the price for gloves. Let the students describe this system.
Show the transparency.	This transparency shows the three essential criteria for a purely competitive industry. Expose each criteria in turn and ask students to explain it in their own words.
What developments would make it impossible for Smith's means to bring about the objectives he desired for an economic system?	Any change in industry which violated one or more of the criteria. Get the students to cite examples.
Would Smith advocate the same means to achieve this goal today as he did in 1776?	Get the students to discuss this. Probably Smith would not because the conditions today have changed.

Development of Western Society Class Handout, Readings 37-38

LAYMAN'S GUIDE TO WIDGET MAKING*

In this day and age of mans production, intricate materials, and delicate processes, the indispensable widget is almost an anachronism. Although widgets are now primarily produced by manufacturers for the large market, individual enterprise is still possible given a minimum of tools, effort, and time. Almost no training is needed and materials for widget making are readily available either in raw form or in a semi-finished stage.

The first step in widget production is locating widge, which is the primary substance. Widge is easily found near river banks and ocean sides and is readily identified by its distinctive color. Light weight and accessible, enough widge could be procured in an afternoon's labor to fill the average automobile trunk. Depending upon the actual dimensions, a trunkful of widge would easily produce from ten to fifteen widgets.

After locating the widge, the final production stages are quite simple. First, the widge is placed in an oven and heated to approximately 300° for two hours. Upon cooling, the amazing malleability of widge becomes readily apparent, and the producer can then shape the mass to the familiar shape. Details can be added if desired by the application of an ice pick or some other sharp instrument. The shaped widge is reheated once again to the same degree and the same amount of time. After cooling the widge is ready for painting or can be left in its natural color. Both styles have always been popular.

Selling widgets is equally easy due to the great demand for this product. Although large companies have great sales forces, an individual may profitably go it alone. Most authorities believe that profits of up to 50% beyond costs are attainable by skillful selling.

With its virtually inexhaustible source of raw material, its relative ease of production, and the constant demand of the market, the widget is a most profitable venture for anyone.

* Reprinted with permission from POPULAR MANUFACTURING, INC.

THE WIDGET....

Wholesome, used throughout the world..

Indispensable, many uses..

Durable, will last and last...

Guaranteed, money-back offer..

Economical, to operate & maintain..

Tremendous value for little cost..

Isn't it about time you owned one?

BUN AND DADSTREET FINANCIAL LISTINGS - WIDGET INDUSTRY

Growth of Widget Industry (in thousands)*

	1955	1960	1965	1970 est.
New Businesses	236	323	211	300
Failures	146	179	167	150
Net	+ 90	+ 44	+ 44	+150
Total (in thousands)	1103	1147	1191	1340

*averages computed for half-decades

BUN AND DADSTREET FINANCIAL LISTINGS

WIDGET INDUSTRY

10 Leading U.S. Widget Corps. (6-6-65)

Name of Corp.	%tage share of market
Acme Widget, Inc.	0.9%
American Widget	1.2%
Big Widget Corp.	1.0%
Imperial Widgets, Inc.	1.4%
Midget Widget Co.	2.0%
National Widget Co.	1.8%
Universal Widget Corp.	1.1%
U.S. Widget	1.3%
Widget and Widget, Inc.	2.1%
Widgets, Ltd.	1.1%

Shaping of Western Society **Re: Lesson Plans 38 and 39**

Note to Teachers Regarding Changes:

1. Use old lesson plan up to passing out the handout on the glove price system.
2. Three transparencies plus a handout on Widget production replace the glove price system handout and the single transparency mentioned in the old plan.
3. Suggestions for using the handout and transparencies:

What are the three criteria for a purely competitive industry?	See page 215 of text.
Show Transparency A	Introduce the concept of the widget. Students should be familiar with this from the ninth grade Comparative Economics course. Since we are dealing with a theoretical idea (a purely competitive industry) we need a theoretical product = widget.
Distribute Handout	
From the information you have received, what can you say about the widget industry?	Get students to analyze the handout using the three criteria mentioned in the text. Have them explain it in their own words. The handout satisfies criteria 3.
Show Transparency B	B satisfies criteria 2.
Show Transparency C	C satisfies criteria 1.

Using the idea of the widget, continue with the lesson plan at

> "What developments would make it impossible for Smith's means to bring about the . . .

SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

Objective Examination #4
Readings 31-38

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last twenty minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:

Question Sheet		Answer Sheet
1. Chicago is a		1. A ~~B~~ C D
A. state	C. country	
B. city	D. continent	

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three.

1. Which of the following quotations would most likely be spoken by a man who favored Laissez faire?
   - A. "The government should make all economic decisions."
   - [✓ B.] "All economic decisions should be made by the market mechanisms."
   - C. "The government should regulate the market mechanisms by which economic decisions are made."
   - D. "Economic decisions should adhere closely to the traditions of the society."

2. The scientific revolution produced all of the following immediate results EXCEPT:
   - A. changes in the beliefs of educated men.
   - [✓ B.] changes in the beliefs of the peasantry.
   - C. changes in laws of the church and state.
   - D. changes in political and social theory.

3. The "Scientific Revolution of the Seventeenth Century" was primarily developed in:
   - A. biology and chemistry.
   - B. geology.
   - C. medicine.
   - [✓ D.] physics, astronomy, and mathematics.

4. Before the seventeenth century, most men believed that all of the following were sources of truth EXCEPT:
   - A. Aristotle.
   - B. Church fathers.
   - [✓ C.] Experiment.
   - D. God.

5. The Scientific revolution established the idea that:
   - A. God had no control over the workings of the universe.
   - [✓ B.] The universe is a machine operated by natural law.
   - C. The universe is a piece of green cheese operated by the man-in-the-moon.
   - D. The universe is round.

Questions 6 through 10 refer to the following 10 facts. Read the questions first; then refer to the facts.

1. The gold coins which were struck amounted to some 300,000 gold florins in 1336.
2. In 1309-1310 the abbot of Crowland Abbey sold over 10,000 fleeces of wool to Italian, Flemish, and German merchants.
3. By 1300 Italy was well sprinkled with towns and cities. The population of Milan was 175,000; Florence and Venice had over 100,000; others ranged from over 50,000 to under 10,000.
4. Canterbury Cathedral Abbey decided in 1400 to lease all its estates and henceforth lived on rents.
5. In 1261, 2200 tons of Sicilian grain entered Genoa alone.
6. Recipe for preparing duckling for household of an English noble: Take plenty of cinnamon, ginger, cloves, grain of Paradise, half a nutmeg, mace and beat well. Moisten with vinegar and verjuice (juice of unripened grapes.)
7. In 1242 England imported over 2,500,000 gallons of French wines.
8. As for the rate of growth of Portuguese trade, Gama took out 4 ships in 1497, 20 in 1502; Cabral in 1500 took out 13; and after that at least 15 ships went out every year.
9. There were about 80 banks of the money changers in Florence in 1338.
10. In 1328 the merchant Esterling sold a Swedish family 1½ lbs. of saffron, 12 lb. kummel, 90 lb. almonds, 5 lb. ginger, 1 lb. cinnamon, 6 lb. pepper, 105 lb. rice, and 4 lb. of sugar.

6. The growth of a market economy was aided by a change in the attitude toward business; this change contradicted the position held by Thomas Aquinas and is best illustrated by facts
A. 2 and 3 [✓ B. 2 and 4] C. 4 and 6 D. 7 and 8.

7. Fact number 8 best illustrates which of the following:
A. change in the church attitude toward business.
B. the decline of the manorial system.
[✓ C. interest in discovery and exploration]
D. new interest in science.

8. A market economy stimulated by consumer demand is best illustrated by facts:
A. 2, 3, and 6. B. 4, 5, and 7. [✓ C. 6, 7, and 10.] D. 8, 9, and 10.

9. Directions: Below are a set of conclusions based on the above set of facts. Choose the combination of facts that best proves the conclusion given.

A money economy was established in western Europe by 1400. This conclusion is best proven by facts numbered.
A. 1 and 5. [✓ B. 1 and 9.] C. 4 and 7. D. 8 and 9.

10. For which of the following statements is fact number 3 evidence?
A. The church was no longer of major importance in the life of 14th century city dwellers.
[✓ B. European life no longer centered around the manor.]
C. The market economy and the growth of cities were not related.
D. No labor supply was available for the development of manufacturing.

Questions 11 through 15 refer to the quotations below.

SPEAKER I: "Also, that all leather skins falsely and deceitfully wrought in their trade which the said overseers shall find on sale in the hands of any person, citizen, or foreigner, within the franchise shall be forfeited and the worker of them shall be fined."

SPEAKER II: "Every man, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest his own way, and to bring his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man, or order of men."

SPEAKER III: "Man should be dedicated to his work, this is the Godly thing to do. The more successful materially, the more worthy in the eyes of God. To gain wealth means also the use of wealth to do God's work here on earth."

SPEAKER IV: "Considering how advantageous it would be to this realm to re-establish its foreign and domestic commerce, we have resolved to establish a council particularly devoted to commerce, to be held every fortnight in our presence, in which all the interests of merchants and the means conducive to the revival of commerce shall be considered and determined upon, as well as all that which concerns manufacture."

11. Which of the speakers illustrated the philosophy of "Laissez-faire?"
A. I. [✓ B. II.] C. III. D. IV.

12. Which of the statements could you attribute to John Calvin?
A. I. B. II. [✓ C. III.] D. IV.

13. Which of the speakers is describing the mercantilistic point of view?
A. I. B. II. C. III. [✓ D. IV.]

14. Which of the speakers does not agree with "Laissez Faire?"
[✓ A. I only.] B. II only. C. III and IV only. D. II and IV only.

15. Which of these speakers is most likely the head of a medieval guild?
[✓ A. I.] B. II. C. III. D. IV.

16. Below are five steps in the growth of Dutch shipping.
I. Colonial activity in the Orient.
II. Development of a superior ship-building industry.
III. Extension of coastal trade to Scandinavia.
IV. Sea-carrying traffic from Archangel to Smyrna.
V. Use of larger ships and nets to salt fish on shipboard.
Organize the five facts above chronologically so they indicate the development of capital formation in the Netherlands.
A. I, II, III, IV, V.
B. III, I, II, V, IV.
[✓ C. V, III, II, IV, I.]
D. IV, II, III, I, V.

Questions 17 through 19 refer to the following quotations from 17th century writers.

I. "(Those who oppose me) have endeavoured to spread the opinion that such propositions in general are contrary to the Bible."

II. "And so, most serene Cosimo, having discovered under your patronage these stars...I have with good right decided to designate them by the august name of your family."

III. "I did find in reality first in Cicero that Nicetas had thought that the earth moves."

IV. "The eternal God has...brought into existence the laudable art by which men now print books and multiply them...."

17. Which of the following hypotheses might be supported by the quotations above?
   - A. The effect of the seventeenth century scientists was to change the system of printing, the flow of patronage, the ideals of the Bible, and the ideas of the Romans.
   - [✓ B.] Except for the opposition of the church, the scientists of the seventeenth century had a favorable environment for scientific inquiry.
   - C. The men of the seventeenth century had a favorable environment for scientific advancement.
   - D. The seventeenth century was hostile to the new science.

18. Which of the above quotations reveal that the seventeenth century scientist knew that he had to contend with the old authorities?
A. I. B. I and II. [✓ C. I and III.] D. III and IV.

19. Which of the above quotations would you select to prove the hypothesis that the seventeenth century world was economically and technologically able to promote the new science?
A. I. B. I and II. [✓ C. II and IV.] D. II, III, and IV.

Questions 20 through 22 refer to the four scientists listed below.
I. Bacon. II. Copernicus. III. Des Cartes. IV. Newton.

20. Which one of the above would solve a scientific problem by developing a hypothesis based on reason and then testing it by performing carefully controlled experiments?
A. I. B. II. C. III. [✓ D. IV.]

21. Which one of the above would solve a scientific problem by performing an experiment and then developing a conclusion?
[✓ A. I.] B. II. C. III. D. IV.

22. Which one of the above would solve a scientific problem by reasoning out a conclusion from established premises?
A. I. B. II. [✓ C. III.] D. IV.

Questions 11 through 15 refer to the quotations below.

SPEAKER I: "Also, that all leather skins falsely and deceitfully wrought in their trade which the said overseers shall find on sale in the hands of any person, citizen, or foreigner, within the franchise shall be forfeited and the worker of them shall be fined."

SPEAKER II: "Every man, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest his own way, and to bring his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man, or order of men."

SPEAKER III: "Man should be dedicated to his work, this is the Godly thing to do. The more successful materially, the more worthy in the eyes of God. To gain wealth means also the use of wealth to do God's work here on earth."

SPEAKER IV: "Considering how advantageous it would be to this realm to re-establish its foreign and domestic commerce, we have resolved to establish a council particularly devoted to commerce, to be held every fortnight in our presence, in which all the interests of merchants and the means conducive to the revival of commerce shall be considered and determined upon, as well as all that which concerns manufacture."

11. Which of the speakers illustrated the philosophy of "Laissez-faire?"
A. I. [✓ B. II.] C. III. D. IV.

12. Which of the statements could you attribute to John Calvin?
A. I. B. II. [✓ C. III.] D. IV.

13. Which of the speakers is describing the mercantilistic point of view?
A. I. B. II. C. III. [✓ D. IV.]

14. Which of the speakers does not agree with "Laissez Faire?"
[✓ A. I only.] B. II only. C. III and IV only. D. II and IV only.

15. Which of these speakers is most likely the head of a medieval guild?
[✓ A. I.] B. II. C. III. D. IV.

16. Below are five steps in the growth of Dutch shipping.
I. Colonial activity in the Orient.
II. Development of a superior ship-building industry.
III. Extension of coastal trade to Scandinavia.
IV. Sea-carrying traffic from Archangel to Smyrna.
V. Use of larger ships and nets to salt fish on shipboard.
Organize the five facts above chronologically so they indicate the development of capital formation in the Netherlands.
A. I, II, III, IV, V.
B. III, I, II, V, IV.
[✓ C. V, III, II, IV, I.]
D. IV, II, III, I, V.

Questions 17 through 19 refer to the following quotations from 17th century writers.

I. "(Those who oppose me) have endeavoured to spread the opinion that such propositions in general are contrary to the Bible."

II. "And so, most serene Cosimo, having discovered under your patronage these stars...I have with good right decided to designate them by the august name of your family."

III. "I did find in reality first in Cicero that Nicetas had thought that the earth moves."

IV. "The eternal God has...brought into existence the laudable art by which men now print books and multiply them...."

17. Which of the following hypotheses might be supported by the quotations above?
    - A. The effect of the seventeenth century scientists was to change the system of printing, the flow of patronage, the ideals of the Bible, and the ideas of the Romans.
    - [✓ B.] Except for the opposition of the church, the scientists of the seventeenth century had a favorable environment for scientific inquiry.
    - C. The men of the seventeenth century had a favorable environment for scientific advancement.
    - D. The seventeenth century was hostile to the new science.

18. Which of the above quotations reveal that the seventeenth century scientist knew that he had to contend with the old authorities?
    A. I. B. I and II. [✓ C.] I and III. D. III and IV.

19. Which of the above quotations would you select to prove the hypothesis that the seventeenth century world was economically and technologically able to promote the new science?
    A. I. B. I and II. [✓ C.] II and IV. D. II, III, and IV.

Questions 20 through 22 refer to the four scientists listed below.
I. Bacon. II. Copernicus. III. Des Cartes. IV. Newton.

20. Which one of the above would solve a scientific problem by developing a hypothesis based on reason and then testing it by performing carefully controlled experiments?
    A. I. B. II. C. III. [✓ D.] IV.

21. Which one of the above would solve a scientific problem by performing an experiment and then developing a conclusion?
    [✓ A.] I. B. II. C. III. D. IV.

22. Which one of the above would solve a scientific problem by reasoning out a conclusion from established premises?
    A. I. B. II. [✓ C.] III. D. IV.

23. All of the following stimulated the development of the scientific revolution EXCEPT:

A. discoveries made by mariners.

[✓ B. general rebellion against the authority of the Church.]

C. invention of the printing press.

D. patronage of scientists by wealthy.

24. All of the following are causes for the early growth of the market economy EXCEPT:

A. the development of a respected middle class.

B. the freeing of the serfs.

[✓ C. the invention of steam powered machinery.]

D. the Protestant Reformation.

25. According to Adam Smith all the following conditions must prevail to maintain a market economy EXCEPT:

A. a large number of producers.

B. easy entry and exit to business.

C. several producers making the same product.

[✓ D. strict government regulation.]

Shaping of Western Society Lesson Plan, Reading 39

THE REVOLUTION IN MEN'S MINDS

Subject Objectives:	To know that the French Revolution was preceded by a change in political philosophy from the belief in divine law to a belief in natural law as the source of governmental authority
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the variables of divine right and reason as sources of governmental authority Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to generalize about the revolution in thinking that took place

Materials: Reading XXXIX, "The Revolution in Men's Minds"
Transparencies: "Variables in Political Theory"

How would you define the word ideology?	The purpose of this question is to provide a general definition before beginning a more thorough examination of several political ideologies. The word can be defined loosely as a group of ideas, theories, or aims which constitute a program of some kind.
TRANSPARENCIES: "What does each of the quotations mean?"	Each transparency contains three quotations: the first by Bossuet, the Second by Locke, the third by Rousseau; these names are not on the transparencies, however, and should not be divulged to the students as doing so might tend to curtail thought. A: 1) Royal government is founded by divine law. 2) The law of nature rules man, not a superior being. 3) The general will is the foundation of government. B: 1) The power of government is limited only as it infringes on the law of God. 2) The power of government is limited to conformity with natural law. 3) The power of government is limited to the norms of society. C: 1) Individuals have no civil rights. 2) Reason points out that men have the right to protect their lives, health, freedom, and property. 3) Individual rights must be surrendered for the good of society. D: 1) Men obey the government, but do not direct it. 2) Men permit government to be formed and then must allow the majority to rule. 3) Government is directed by the public consensus; once it is developed no one may deviate.

	E: 1) Rebellion is unthinkable. 2) The people retain their rights to some degree and thus can establish a new government for their protection, if necessary. 3) For the public good, rebellion cannot be tolerated.
Is any trend or theme apparent in the groups of quotations?	By this time the class should be aware that the first quotation is in conflict with the second and third. Lead the class to development of a generalization to the effect that political ideology was revolutionized by the ideas that public consent and the laws of nature are the foundations of government as opposed to divine law and absolute royal authority. In doing this, the teacher might conclude by indicating the sources of the quotations and some of the conflicts within Rousseau. Students may get the idea that Rousseau is somewhat of a totalitarianist. If so, indicate that the General Will is a term for majority, consensus, or general welfare. Rousseau believes that it must come before any ideosyncracies of mere individuals.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT

"We have established by the Scriptures that royalty has its origin in divinity itself. God chose the monarchical and hereditary state as the most natural and the most durable."

"The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man, but to have only the law of nature for his rule."

"Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will."

THE LIMITS OF GOVERNMENT

"The prince need render account of his act to no one. But, the king must employ his power with fear and self-restraint, as a thing coming from God."

"The rules that governments make...must... be conformable to the law of Nature."

"The sovereign power, absolute, sacred and inviolable as it is, does not and cannot exceed the limits of general conventions."

INDIVIDUAL CIVIL RIGHTS

"It is necessary that the King's power be such that no one can hope to escape him, and, finally, the only protection of individuals against public authority should be their innocence."

"The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions."

"All rights must be surrendered, (to the General Will) none may be reserved."

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS TO PARTICIPATE IN GOVERNMENT

"Men are all born subject, and by nature are accustomed not only to obey, but also to having only one leader."

"And thus every man, by consenting with others to make one body politic puts himself under an obligation to everyone of that society to submit to the determination of the majority, and to be concluded by it."

"Each of us places his person and authority under the supreme direction of the general will; and the group receives each individual as an indivisible part of the whole."

REBELLION AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

"Should God withdraw his hand, the earth would fall to pieces; should the king's authority cease in the realm, all would be in confusion."

"It is the privilege of people, who have a right to resume their original liberty, to establish a new legislature and provide for their own safety and security."

"Everyone must understand that any individual who refuses to obey the general will must be forced by his fellows to do so."

CRITICISMS OF THE OLD REGIME

Subject Objectives: To know that inefficient government, inequitable tax burdens, and unjust privileges were at the root of discontent in eighteenth century France.

Skill Objectives: Production of a Unique Communications: (5.10) - to write a cahier attempting to convey the ideas of the Third Estate.
Extrapolation: (2.30) - to develop a hypothesis about what the Revolution will attempt to accomplish in France.

Materials: Reading XL, "Criticisms of the Old Regime"

WRITING EXERCISE: Acting as the Third Estate, write a Cahier for the King listing your grievances and suggested reforms.

The class will do this exercise as a group. One student should be writing the Cahier on the chalk board while the rest of the class makes and discusses the topics to be included in it. Before beginning, the teacher should explain what a cahier is. (It was a list of grievances and proposed reforms that was drawn up by the provincial estates before the meeting of the Estates General) Allow at least twenty minutes. Below are some suggestions for the list based on the sources.

Arthur Young: Since the nobility does not meet its responsibilities, its privileges must be reduced. The Nobility must accept its responsibilities for its estates. Taxes must be adjusted so that the Nobility and other privileged persons will share in the burden.

Madame de Stael: Divine Right government must be modified to permit at least some public participation.

Marquis d'Argenson: The intrigues of the court have become basis for the King's decisions. The King should open an advisory council made up of educated citizens to help him in the affairs of state; its members must not be only aristocrats. There are, of course, numerous other possibilities for the cahier.

What do you suppose the revolutionaries will attempt to accomplish in France?

Obviously, there will be an attempt to adjust the grievances indicated by the cahier. The class, however, should develop a hypothesis based on economic, social, and political reform. Included in the hypothesis should be some recognition of the idea that reforms, though specific, will also be directed toward an extension of the basis for political power. In this way, the students will be including their knowledge about the revolution in men's minds.

LEADERSHIP IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Subject Objectives:

To know:

that the Revolutionary leaders were members of the lower aristocracy or upper bourgeoisie who had held official positions during the Old Regime but were highly discontented; because they were resolute in a time of crisis, these men were able to establish institutional structures permitting them to become leaders.

that leadership recruitment began to be determined by merit as opposed to hereditary privilege.

Skill Objectives:

Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the elements of leadership patterns during the French Revolution.
Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to generalize about the way in which Revolutionary leaders came to the fore.

Materials: Reading XLI, "Leadership in the French Revolution"

What analytic questions might we ask in order to find out who becomes a leader?

This can be quite time consuming if the teacher does not direct the class attention toward being specific. Make a list of the questions on the chalk board. The best questions are:

1. To what social class does the leader belong?
2. How was he employed before attaining leadership?
3. What was the leader's educational background?
4. How did the leader go about trying to achieve his position?

WRITING EXERCISE: Answer each of these questions with reference to one of the four Revolutionary leaders.

The teacher should assign one of the leaders to each student; the exercise should not take more than five to ten minutes. The teacher should also have a model on the chalkboard indicating in chart form each of the leaders and the various analytical sub-topics. This will be filled in with the information for each man.

For example: Robespierre

1. Member of the bourgeoisie - Father a lawyer
2. Under the Old Regime he was a lawyer and Judge, but was dissatisfied with the death penalty.
3. Educated in Paris and particularly influenced by Rousseau
4. Became known to the public through speeches and pamphlets he wrote; worked for establishment of committee of Public Safety to give him power.

Do the Revolutionary leaders have any traits in common?	At this point, the class should be aware that the leaders come from the lower nobility and upper middle class, had held official positions under old regime, were discontented with some aspect of their position, had been influenced by governmental theories based on natural law, and came into the public view through the force of their personalities and their ability to innovate. Each proceeded to construct an institutional framework and a leadership position for himself within it.
Does the course of the Revolution indicate any change in the method of recruiting leaders?	Yes. These leaders have not achieved their position by means of hereditary right. Instead, they earned leadership.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE WESTERN TRADITION

Subject Objectives:	To know that the French Revolution was the product of and the producer of Western tradition.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship of the French Revolution to the conditions preceding it and to those resulting from it.

Materials: Reading XLII, "The French Revolution and the Western Tradition"
Transparency: "The French Revolution & The Western Heritage"

ADMINISTER OBJECTIVE TEST: Allow twenty minutes.	
TRANSPARENCY: Find evidence in your reading to prove or disprove these statements.	Allow the class to use all of their readings in order to justify the statements.
Make a hypothesis about the significance of the French Revolution.	

1. The revolution was, in part, an attempt to create with laws a social order in which men might realize their full potential

2. From the Renaissance...came a new optimism—the belief that man could be perfected by perfecting his society.

3. The old regime had established a complicated set of commercial laws which had burdened the economy.

4. The economic revolution gave rise to new social classes.

5. A loyalty to the state began to supplant old loyalties.The nation came to command the intanse patriotism of the French people.

6. Louis XIV completed the centralization of power in France. The Committee of Public Safety and Napoleon... extended and enlarged the power of the...state...

7. The men who made better use of opportunities should be given more privileged treatment by society and...more participation in the running of society...

SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

Objective Examination #5
Readings 39-42

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last twenty minutes. It consists of fifteen questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question: no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:

Question Sheet	Answer Sheet
1. Chicago is a A. state. C. country. B. city. D. continent.	1. A X C D

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three.

1. What is the major difference between Locke and Rousseau?
   A. Locke believed natural law ruled the universe and Rousseau thought divine law did.
   B. Locke did not have as much faith in mankind as Rousseau did.
   [✓ C.] Locke thought the social contract could be broken and Rousseau did not.
   D. Locke wrote before the French Revolution and Rousseau wrote afterwards.

2. All of the following conditions established the revolutionary climate in France EXCEPT:
   [✓ A.] the growth of a strong legislature which repeatedly challenged the King's authority.
   B. a discontented bourgeoisie which was denied the rewards of status and power they felt they deserved.
   C. the acceptance of theory which proclaimed the necessity for eliminating central control of the economy.
   D. the ideas of the scientific revolution which provided an analytic tool for perfecting society.

3. Judging from the leadership patterns of the French Revolution, an historian could conclude that
   A. the French Revolution established universal suffrage in France.
   [✓ B.] the French Revolution abolished the practice of awarding positions of leadership and status on the basis of heredity.
   C. the French Revolution abolished centralized government.
   D. the French Revolution abolished the practice whereby the most important political decisions were made by a small elite.

Questions 4 through 7 refer to the following chronological order of events. Read the questions first; then refer to the chronology.

I. 1787-The French nobility request more power in making political decisions at the Assembly of Notables.

II. 1788-The French nobility gathers troops to fight Louis XVI's new tax program, but Louis gives in to their demands without a shot being fired.

III. 1789-(June) the Estates General resolves itself into the National Assembly, abolishing the nobility and the clergy as separate legislative houses, and proclaims that it will write a new constitution for France.

IV. 1789-(August) The National Assembly abolishes the feudal privileges of the nobility and proclaims the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen.

V. 1792-French National Assembly declares war on the army, made up of former nobles, who want to overthrow the revolution.

VI. 1792-The king is overthrown and a republic is established.

VII. 1793-The king is executed.

VIII. 1793-A revolt of peasants and priests against the revolution breaks out in the French province of the Vendee.

IX. 1793-The Committee of Public Safety, the revolutionary council, suspends civil liberties and begins the reign of terror, executing all those suspected of opposing the revolution.

4. Which of the events in the chronology above would you choose to substantiate the hypothesis; "The French Revolution attempted to establish equal rights for all men."

A. I and III only. [✓ C. III and IV only.]
B. III and VI only. D. VI and IX only.

5. Which of the following hypotheses could be derived from the chronology given above?

A. The revolution became more popular as time went on.
[✓ B. The revolution became more violent as time went on.]
C. The revolution became more stabilized as time went on.
D. The revolution became more conservative as time went on.

6. Which of the events would you choose to support the hypothesis: "As the revolution proceeded it gained more and more enemies."

A. V only. C. II and VIII only.
B. II and V only. [✓ D. V and VIII only.]

7. Which of the following hypotheses could you develop from events I and II?

[✓ A. The French Revolution was started by the nobility.]
B. The nobility tried to stop the French Revolution.
C. The king and the nobility together were opposed to the French Revolution.
D. The king tried to start the French Revolution but the nobles prevented him.

Questions 8 through 11 refer to the statements below.

I. "Government is directed by the public concensus, the general will being the foundation of government."

II. "The law of nature rules man, so the power of government is limited to conformity with the law of nature."

III. "Men obey the government but do not direct it as royal government is founded on divine law."

IV. "When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for a people to dissolve those political bonds..."

8. Which of the political statements above has been most directly influenced by the scientific revolution?
A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

9. Which of the statements above would have been made by Louis XIV?
A. I B. II [✓ C. III] D. IV

10. Which of the statements above would have been made by Robespierre?
[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

11. Which of the statements above asserts John Locke's principle of the right of revolution?
A. I. B. II C. III [✓ D. IV]

12. What was one of the effects of the social contract theory?
A. It caused the peasants to revolt against the Old Regime.
B. It completely destroyed the people's faith in religion.
C. It justified man's sinful condition as being natural.
[✓ D. It stimulated popular discontent with the Old Regime.]

13. All of the following were grievances held against the Old Regime EXCEPT:
[✓ A. absence of any public welfare projects.]
B. inequities in the tax structure.
C. lack of citizen participation in government.
D. refusal of many nobles to maintain their property.

14. All of the following are characteristics of the revolutionary leaders in France EXCEPT:
A. They held official positions under the Old Regime.
[✓ B. They or their families had been discriminated against by the monarch.]
C. They were familiar with the theories of natural law.
D. They were members of the lower aristocracy or the upper bourgeoisie.

15. All of the following questions should be asked in beginning an investigation of the causes of the French Revolution EXCEPT:
A. Were there any economic problems faced by France before the revolution?
[✓ B. How did Napoleon get into power?]
C. What were the personality characteristics of Louis XIV?
D. What grievances were expressed by the bourgeoisie prior to the revolution?

ECONOMIC GROWTH IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BRITAIN

Subject Objectives: To know
the degree to which economic growth in eighteenth century Britain conformed to the growth model developed by W. W. Rostow.

Skill Objectives:
5.10 Production of a Unique Communication - the ability to write a research paper from evidence.

Materials: Readings 43-46 - Materials for developing a research paper.

The teacher should devote at least four class days to the writing of a controlled research paper based upon the materials included in the student readings, pages 238 to 303. The teacher may wish to allocate more time for this purpose. The class time should be devoted to giving the students individual attention or answering general questions as they arise. The students should start from the supplementary assignments given for units VII, VIII, and IX. If they have completed these assignments they will have worked out an attack strategy, developed a working bibliography, and written a number of note cards.

Shaping of Western Society Lesson Plan, Reading 47

NATIONALISM IN TUDOR ENGLAND

Subject Objectives: To know: that nationalism in Tudor England essentially means loyalty to the monarch; service to God, country, or ruler are almost one and the same.

Skill Objectives: Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to develop a hypothesis about the meaning of nationalism in Tudor England.

Materials: Reading XLVII, "Nationalism in Tudor England"

WRITING EXERCISE: What do the words "nation" and "nationalism" mean to you?

Give the class about five minutes to write definitions for both words. Then, have several students read their definitions aloud; permit comments and criticisms from other class members. On the chalkboard, develop definitions for the two words which are acceptable to the class as starting points for study. This whole exercise should take about ten minutes.

What would the words nation and nationalism mean to those who wrote today's readings?

A. To members of Parliament, nationalism means refusal to obey the laws of any foreign ruler, i.e. the Pope; the nation is the "Realm" of the king who has no superior but God.

B. For Shakespeare, nationalism would mean the strength and courage of British fighting men who fearlessly "go unto the breach" living and dying honorably for God and king. The nation is "this royal throne of kings, the sceptered isle ...this blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England..." The nation is the seat of the monarchy.

C. To Sir Walter Raleigh, nationalism means, again, the joy of honorable death of "surrender to God" so as to save England from the defamation of being considered less important than mere individual life.

D. Stephen Gosson would define nationalism as loyalty to the monarch - a loyalty which is not evidenced simply by dying for one's country, but which should be apparent in such minor matters as modest dress.

E. Elizabeth herself sees the monarchy as a marriage of subjects and ruler.

What is the purpose of nationalism in Tudor England?	The class definition written at the beginning of the period will probably have to be modified now. It appears that the purpose of nationalism is to inspire loyalty and devotion to the monarch. There is, however, little differentiation between the nation and the ruler. It is impossible to serve one and not the other. And doing this implies service to God as well.

NINETEENTH CENTURY NATIONALISM IN ITALY

Subject Objectives:	To know: that nineteenth century Italian nationalism is not the same as nationalism in Tudor England, but has changed over time and country. that nineteenth century Italian nationalism is a feeling of national consciousness directed toward political unification.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyse the variables and constants of nineteenth century Italian nationalism. Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to hypothesize about the meaning of nationalism in nineteenth century Italy.

Materials: Reading XLVIII, "Nineteenth Century Nationalism in Italy"

Looking at the map of Italy, does the definition of nationalism we developed for Tudor England hold true?	No. In Tudor England the monarch embodies the nation. The Italian peninsula, however, is only a geographic entity; it is politically divided into a number of states and has no single ruler to inspire the loyalty of all Italians.
WRITING EXERCISE: Write a propaganda notice of approximately 10-12 words which one of the patriots might have posted to win public recognition for his ideas.	Assign each student to work on one of the three patriots. Direct class attention to the necessity for simplicity, clarity, and communication of the whole idea. Allow about ten minutes for writing and then have samples read aloud so that students can comment and make additions. The teacher should mark important points on the chalkboard. A. Mazzini: Italy must be unified under a republican form of government so that all Italians can enjoy freedom and equality and so that strength to ward off foreign powers is available. The republican form concurs with tradition since there has never been a dynasty to command the affection of all the people. B. Gioberti: Italy must be unified in a confederation of states presided over by the Pope but established so that local princes can execute internal reforms. Citizens can then enjoy civil liberties. The confederate form concurs with tradition, since the Pope would only be putting his ancient rights back into operation and the princes would not lose their positions.

	C. Cavour: Italy must be unified under the leadership of Piedmont so that Italians can develop a conscious sense of dignity even in the lowest social orders and so that foreign domination can be thrown off. Leadership by Piedmont is in line with tradition because it is the only throne having its "roots in the national soil."
What is the purpose and meaning of nineteenth century Italian Nationalism?	**Nineteenth century Italian nationalism is a bond linking all Italians to their past history (of foreign domination, papal power, Roman and Renaissance glory) and inspired by the ideals of the French Revolution. It is devoted to the purpose of politically unifying the peninsula under a centrally controlled government.**

NINETEENTH CENTURY NATIONALISM IN GERMANY

Subject Objectives:	To know: that the meaning of nationalism changes over time within one country. that nineteenth century German nationalism was first directed toward political unification; after this was accomplished, it was directed toward glorification of the state.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the elements of German nationalism. Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to make an hypothesis about the meaning of German nationalism in the nineteenth century.

Materials: Reading XLIX, "Nineteenth Century Nationalism in Germany"

What does the word nationalism mean to the three German writers?	Humboldt: German states should be unified under a constitutional government. Central control is necessary to the fulfillment of national consciousness since Germany is already unified by language, custom and a common history of dangers faced and glories won. Bismarck: Dynasties developed through various acquisitions are a fact of German history and are peculiar to Germany. Thus, they should be the means by which central government is established. Doing this will not only maintain but also concentrate German love of the Fatherland so that it can be an effective national consciousness. Treitschke: The state is all powerful and is a great institution because it can act with complete sovereignty. It demands total love and obedience from its citizens and gives them protection from foreign invasion and great prestige in international life in return. It rises to, maintains, and advances in strength through the struggles of war and in doing so inspires the people with a tremendous love of country.
What similarities and differences are there among the three writers?	Bismarck and Humboldt are concerned with unifying the state, whereas Treitschke is writing after unification of the state has been completed. They are all very conscious of being German and there is a strong sense of the peoples being bound together. This patriotic feeling intensified with time; to begin with it is directed toward establishing a nation; finally, the state becomes the ultimate expression of what it means to be a German.

WRITING EXERCISE:
"What is Nationalism?"

Direct the class to write a one paragraph definition based on the discussion this week. Have students use specific details as much as possibl working toward a full explanation. This should not be a recital of the three nationalistic phases.

Shaping of Western Society

Lesson Plan, Reading 50

THE MEANING OF NATIONALISM

Subject Objectives:

To know:
that contemporary nationalism, with its roots in earlier times, has established a patriotic fervor bordering on religious zeal in the citizens of the nation state.

Skill Objectives:

Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship between nationalism and religion.

Materials: Reading L, "The Meaning of Nationalism"
Slide Tape, "Nationalism As A Religion"

Administer twenty-minute exam

Slide Tape:

After showing the slide tape, ask the class to define contemporary nationalism as it differs from dynastic and liberal nationalism. In what ways is it similar?

NATIONALISM AS A RELIGION

1. An exterior of the Cathedral of Chartres
2. A painting of the American flag over a farm

Pictures 3 through 14 show representative scenes of the American, Russian, French and English homeland.

15. Picture of the cover on a Bible

Pictures 16 through 18 show the authors of the founding documents of England, the United States and Russia.

19. Delacroix's Liberty Leading the People
20. A Renaissance Pope

Pictures 21 through 25 show leaders of the United States, Great Britain, Russia and France.

26. Jeanne D'Arc

Pictures 27 through 36 show representative heroes from the United States, France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

37. Saint Sebastian

38, through 41. Representations of people who have died for their country.

42. Christ on the Cross

43, through 49. Various battles and historic moments in the history of the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union.

50, through 55. Pictures of people of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain celebrating their national holidays.

56. The shrine at Lourdes

57, through 63. Various public buildings and monuments in the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

64, through 78. War posters.

SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

SCRIPT TO SLIDE TAPE - READING L

NATIONALISM AS A RELIGION

① The medieval cathedral is a collection of the symbols of the Christian religion. The stained glass windows, the sculpture, the cross and the cross-shaped church itself symbolize much of what is vital in Christianity, the center of the life of medieval man. ② Today the symbols which stir men most deeply represent not the church but the nation. The flag and the national anthem are the most obvious symbols for instilling patriotism. There are a host of others.

③ One such symbol is the idea of a Holy Land. Palestine is the Holy Land of Christianity, reminding Christians of their Savior. Similarly, America the Beautiful is our Holy Land. ④ The grandeur of our purple mountain majesties ⑤ the abundance of our "fruited plains" ⑥ and the gleaming of our alabaster cities all remind us of our precious heritage. ⑦ "Mother Russia" is the homeland of the Russian peasant where sunlight falls on verdant hills ⑧ and ⑨ where it is dimmed by winter snows in Moscow's Red Square. A Frenchman boasts justifiable pride in Paris ⑩ but he may fondly recall the tiny village of his father in the wine country ⑪. The Englishman's fatherland is, in the words of the poet, ⑫ "This Royal Throne of kings, this sceptered isle...this blessed plot, this earth, this realm--the England" ⑬ where the hunt runs across the rolling greensward and ⑭ Oxford Dons gather in solemn ceremony on their stately campus.

⑮ Nationalism, like religion, also has a holy writ. This bible contains the scriptures of the Christian religion. Nations, too have their scriptures, their set of ideals. For Englishmen, one of these is the Magna Carta signed at Runnymede by ⑯ King John and the Barons. Similarly ⑰ these heirs of the Magna Carta signed a document in

Philadelphia setting forth the creed of Americans: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." ⑱ For citizens of the Soviet Union, Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto articulates their sacred creed. ⑲ In France, the ideals of the Declaration of the Rights of Man are symbolized in this painting by Delacroix. He has pictured liberty as a fair and fearless lady leading her followers militantly against tyrannical enemies.

⑳ The scriptures of religions are interpreted by priests and prophets. The ideals of the fatherland are interpreted by national leaders, like ㉑ Franklin Roosevelt (his words) and ㉒ Winston Churchill (his words). Both men urged their countrymen to keep the faith in times of despair. ㉓ Sometimes the priests do not articulate the creed but perform the public ceremonies that reaffirm and renew the spirit of the citizenry. ㉔ Often the leader is a prophet, like Nikolai Lenin, who promises a better life and a greater glory. Sometimes the prophet is a ntional hero, like the young ㉕ Charles De Gaulle, who embodies the nationalist faith in his very being.

㉖ Religions have their saints, like the Maid of Orleans, St. Joan. But Joan of Arc was also a French national hero whose memory still inspires patriotic fervor in her countrymen, as do American heroes ㉗ George Washington (music) ㉘ Douglas MacArthur, (music) ㉙ Dwight Eisenhower, (music) and ㉚ Ulysses S. Grant. Other nations have their military heroes ㉛ Napoleon Bonaparte in France and his great rival and conqueror, ㉜ the English Duke of Wellington. Heroes are not always made in war. ㉝ Russia's Yuri Gagarin wears his chestful of medals for his conquest of space. Heroes are often great rulers, ㉞ like England's Queen Elizabeth I (music) or ㉟ Russia's Josef Stalin (music) and his predecessor ㊱ Peter the Great. But whoever they are, heroes are the models of patriotism who devoted their lives to their countries' greatness, as saints devoted their lives to their faith.

37 Along with saints, religions have martyrs who sacrificed their lives for their creed. Nations, too remember their martyrs, ㊳ the English General Wolfe, (music) ㊴ the American General Warren. We commemorate those who give up their lives ㊵ by awarding them special pages in history books, ㊶ and we create stirring monuments and statues for those nameless sons of the fatherland who make the ultimate sacrifice.

㊷ The Christian faithful remember the great historical moments of their religion and renew their spirits in their commemoration. Patriots, too, seek strength from the past moments of triumph ㊸ as at Yorktown (music) and the ㊹ moments of despair, as at Valley Forge. (music) ㊺ Frenchmen swell with pride as they remember Napoleon's great victories ㊻ and the despair of Frenchmen, Napoleon's retreat from Russia is one of the great moments in the history of the Soviet Union, ㊼ as was Lenin's return to Russia in 1917 to bring the Revolution. ㊽ Nations remember moments of victory--Yorktown, New Orleans, Gettysburg, San Juan Hill, Iwo Jima--and moments of defeat-- ㊾ The Alamo, Chambersburg, Pearl Harbor--when the sons of the fatherland gave the best that was in them for their nation.

㊿ The great moments in a nation's history are commemorated in pageants and festivals as religious history is remembered in holy day ceremonies. On our Fourth of July (music) (51) or the Soviet Union's May Day, (52) thousands upon thousands listen to the ringing words of nation's priests and prophets, here, in Moscow's Red Square or in our own cemeteries, parks and town squares. (53) Sometimes the ceremonial itself is a great moment in history, like the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. (54) The ancient rituals and spectacular ceremonies remind Englishmen of their precious heritage, (55) and they honor their national heroes for their great patriotic service.

(56) Religious pilgrims throng to the sacred shrines, as these faithful come to the Holy Shrine of Lourdes. Patriots also have their shrines-- (57) the Capitol in Washington (music) or the (58) Houses of Parliament where Big Ben rings out the hours of England's destiny while the members of Lords and Commons sit inside to fashion it. (59) The architecture of the national shrines often expresses the ideals of the nation as the Grecian columns of the Supreme Court building remind the patriotic pilgrim of his ancient heritage of democratic justice. (60) Sometimes national monuments are erected in memory of a hero, (61) sometimes they are the residence of the living leaders, the White House, (62) Windsor Castle (63) or the Kremlin.

All of these--the Holy Land, the ideals, the prophets, the priests, the martyrs and heroes, ceremonies and pageants, and the shrines--call upon the individual to serve, (64) to serve the fatherland as heroes have served it before. "I want you!" commands the national image in this poster. The posters say it in English and they say it in French (65) calling sons to fight and die for the nation. They are called upon to turn back (66) that evil monster who would destroy their country. The enemy must be defeated--all people must serve the cause, not just men, (67) but women too must bear arms, and not just grown men but young men too (68) must find ways of saving the homeland. In time of

SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY **Objective Examination VI**

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last fifteen minutes. It consists of fifteen questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example: Question Sheet Answer Sheet

1. Chicago is a
A. state. C. country. 1. A X C D
B. city. D. continent.

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three.

Questions 1 through 3 are based on the statements below about nationalism.

I. a feeling of belonging to a particular racial or ethnic group
II. a feeling of loyalty toward the monarch
III. a movement to establish central government
IV. a movement toward geographical unity

1. Which of the phrases above describes 19th century Italian nationalism?
A. II B. II & III C. II & IV [✓ D. III & IV]

2. Which of the phrases above describes dynastic nationalism as it existed in Tudor England?
A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

3. Which of the phrases above describes 19th century German nationalism?
A. II only [✓ B. I, II, & III] C. II, III, & IV D. I III, & IV

4. The history of nationalism in Western Europe illustrates all of the following problems of making an historical definition EXCEPT:
A. One definition of nationalism does not account for all periods.
B. One definition of nationalism does not account for all places.
C. One definition of nationalism can account for all times and places.
[✓ D. One definition, if sufficiently broad, can account for the common elements of nationalism over time and place.]

5. Which of the following men would best be described as a militarist?
A. Gioberti B. Gosson C. Humboldt [✓ D. Treitschke]

6. Which of the following men would be most likely to agree that the national state must have an aristocratic leadership?
[✓ A. Treitschke and Gioberti] C. Mazzini and Cavour
B. Bismarck and Cavour D. Humboldt and Gioberti

7. The difference between dynastic nationalism and liberal nationalism is:
*A. Dynastic nationalism is aristocratic and liberal nationalism is democratic.
B. Dynastic nationalism differentiates between the government and the nation; liberal nationalism does not.
C. Dynastic nationalism is more concerned with war and liberal nationalism is concerned with peace.
D. Dynastic nationalism receives its impetus from ties with the monarch and liberal nationalism from the ties of history.

8. All of the following are expressions of nationalism EXCEPT:
*A. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God."
B. "I pledge allegiance to the flag and to the republic for which it stands. ..."
C. "Oh beautiful for spacious skies, for amber waves of grain. ..."
D. "...that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

9. All of the following would contribute to a feeling of nationalism EXCEPT:
A. the ties of common language, religion, and culture.
B. the ties of government and geography.
C. the ties of history.
*D. the ties of serfs to lord.

10. The most important similarity between the nationalism of Cavour, Gioberti, and Mazzini is that
*A. all three based their plans for unity on elements in Italian tradition.
B. all three had the same plan for the unification of Italy.
C. all three wanted to become head of a new central government.
D. all three were from the same area of Italy.

11. What happened to nationalistic feeling in Germany between 1848 and 1871?
A. It became more closely associated with liberal ideals.
*B. It became more independent of liberal ideals.
C. It became associated with Nazi ideals.
D. It began to decrease.

crisis all the people are called upon to serve in all kinds of ways, (69) in factories and fields to produce armor and food. People must not only give up their lives, but their worldly goods (70) in service to the nation. And they serve. The sons and daughters of the homeland give up their comfortable lives, (71) they leave family and friends behind, they give up their worldly goods. (72) Millions turn out at bond rallies to pour dollars into the war chest that the enemy may be turned back (73) -- so that the monster is forever defeated and the lovely lady, (74) Liberty, can continue to lead her people in the fulfillment of their historic destiny, and so that government (75) of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

Questions 12 through 15 refer to the following quotations:

I. "This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle, ...This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England."

II. "Before you can induce a whole people to rise, it is necessary to place before them an aim, appealing directly to their own rights."

III. "The feeling that Germany is a unit...rests not wholly upon community of customs, language, and literature...but on the memory of rights and liberties enjoyed in common. ..."

IV. "The German love of fatherland has need of a prince on whom it can concentrate its attachment."

12. Which of the quotations above are typical of "liberal" nationalism or nationalism which is derived from attachment to liberal ideals and values?
   A. I only
   B. III only
   [✓ C. II and III only]
   D. III and IV only

13. Which of the quotations above are typical of dynastic nationalism?
   A. I only
   B. IV only
   C. I and III only
   [✓ D. I and IV only]

14. Which of the quotations above would you choose to justify the hypothesis, "The definition of nationalism varies according to place."?
   A. I and III only
   B. III and IV only
   C. II, III and IV only
   [✓ D. I, II, and IV only]

15. What definition of nationalism would account for all of the quotations above?
   A. Nationalism is an attachment to the liberal ideals for which the country stands.
   [✓ B. Nationalism is an attachment to traditions; either a traditional royal family, a traditional set of values, or traditional customs.]
   C. Nationalism is an attachment to a dynasty.
   D. Nationalism is an attachment to a particular geographic area.

THE NATURE OF WAR IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Subject Objectives:	To know: that modern war is sustained by nationalism and the participation of the entire citizenry. that the impact of war in the twentieth century alters attitudes toward war.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the way in which modern war is conducted. Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to generalize about the attitudes created by war.

Materials: Reading LXIII, "The Nature of War in the Twentieth Century"
Slides - "World War I"

Show the slides.

Slides: What is war in the twentieth century like?	The subject matter of the slides should make it abundantly clear that modern war is grisly in its effects; conducted with technologically advanced weaponry, and that the war effort requires the involvement of the entire population.
FREE DISCUSSION: Why are so many people willing to be involved in the war?	The bulk of the discussion will probably center around nationalism and patriotism. The teacher should get students to define nationalism, making sure that the class recognizes war as an event which unites the citizenry to face a common danger thus causing patriotism and national consciousness to become emotional states. When there is no crisis, nationalism is more an intellectual abstraction.
What frames of reference do the authors of the readings have?	The purpose of this question is to make the class aware that the readings are not meant to be merely an accounting of the horrors of war. It is apparent that Edith Wharton and the German soldier are both writing near the beginning of the war; each is willing to sacrifice on his own level in order to promote the glory and honor of country. Remarque and Wilfred Owen, however, have entirely different views. They are writing after the war and indicate a change of attitude. For them, at least, patriotism has been severely palled by the cost of war in human suffering. As Owen so aptly puts it, dying for one's country is not a sweet and dignified death; it is, instead, ugly, tortured, and ignoble.

What is the total impact, then, of war in the twentieth century?	This is a summary question in which the class has an opportunity to make a succinct statement. For example: "The twentieth century war is a gigantic upheaval sustained by the patriotism of whole populations and resulting in untold destruction of material property and devastation of humanity."

General Picture Description: World War I

he pictures for this lesson may be divided into the following categories:

Category 1: Pictures showing destruction of civilian property (ruined buildings, farms).

Category 2: Pictures showing the increasing mechanization of war (tanks, machine guns, gas masks, large pieces of equipment).

Category 3: Pictures showing the mobilization of civilians in the war effort (home defense industry, civilians working in defense plants, war bond rallies, patriotic posters urging higher production, women working in men's job).

Category 4: Mobilization of youth in the war effort (school boys training with dummy weapons, young women marching, young children engaged in patriotic activity).

Category 5: Pictures showing destruction of human life (dead soldiers in trenches, dead civilians).

THE DECISIONS THAT LED TO WAR

Subject Objectives:	To know: that European national leaders made decisions in 1914 on the premise that the risks of war were justified if vital interests were protected or gains of some kind were made.
Skill Objectives:	Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to hypothesize about the considerations governing decisions which ultimately led to World War I.

Materials: Reading LXIV, "The Decisions That Led to War"

THIS MAY TAKE TWO DAYS

GROUP WORK: After weighing the various alternatives and their consequences, what decision will each country make?	Divide the class into five groups, one for each decision. Each committee will be provided with forms for filling in alternatives and consequences. The teacher should direct attention to the first two pages of the reading (Section I) which are of significance since they shed light on each country's position and goals. When all groups have completed their work, use the overhead projector to fill in the alternatives and consequences and decisions of each group. Then check to see what decisions actually were made. Where groups have made an inaccurate decision, the students should try to decide on what basis their reasoning was different from that of the national leader or how their frames of reference differed.
Can you make a hypothesis as to what considerations governed the decisions that were made?	It should be readily apparent that all the leaders risked war in order to protect their national interests.

TREATY OF VERSAILLES: TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE

Subject Objectives:

To know:
that the Versailles treaty was shaped, for the most part, by Clemenceau's policy and contained the seeds of a future war.

Skill Objectives:

Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the elements of Clemenceau's and Wilson's policies contained in the Treaty of Versailles.
Judgments in Terms of External Criteria: (6.20)- to determine whether or not this treaty was an effective one.

Materials: Reading LXV, "Treaty of Versailles: To Maintain the Peace"

What is the purpose of making a peace treaty?	The class should quickly point out such ideas as these: the treaty brings an end to the war; it may punish the loser; it may attempt to eliminate the problems that brought on the war; it will aim at preventing a future war.
GROUP WORK: Which of these purposes is the basis for the Versailles Treaty?	Divide the class into four groups, directing them to justify their positions with evidence from Clemenceau, Wilson, and the treaty itself. Reporters will report back to the class after about ten minutes; each committee should have three specifics to support its view. Although there are a few indications that Wilson's Fourteen Points have been incorporated, the treaty is punitive for the most part.
FREE DISCUSSION: Do you think this is a good treaty?	This question has a wide range of usage. The teacher should only participate to the extent of directing attention to issues that need consideration and making sure students justify their positions. Students will probably conclude that the treaty is poor because it is vindictive; Germany is humiliated by losing land and population, paying heavy reparations, having occupational forces, and assuming the entire blame for the war. Such conditions might cause her to attempt to regain her losses and her prestige at some time in the future. Wilson's proposals were too idealistic to be acceptable to a Europe that had suffered invasion when the United States had not. Another position, however, is that based on the idea that this was the best treaty that could be arranged; it hinges on the realization that nothing less than this would have been acceptable to France and England and is probably just a different way of stating that the treaty is a poor one.

* From John M. Good and Edwin Fenton, "Woodrow Wilson and the Versailles Settlement" in the Fenton-Wallbank World History Program for the Overhead Projector, (Williamette, Illinois, Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc.: 1965).

This transparency set demonstrates the relationship of the treaty adjustments made at Versailles to the ethnic and geographic factors of Europe.

BALANCE OF POWER AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SINCE 1815

ADMINISTER FULL PERIOD ESSAY EXAMINATION

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

Essay Test #5
Units XII and XIII
Lesson 54

To Instructor: Please write the following on the board:

Defend or attack the following hypothesis:

"Nationalism caused the First World War."

THE ROOTS OF TOTALITARIANISM - IMPERIAL RUSSIA

Subject Objectives:	To know that Imperial Russia was politically, socially, and economically organized so as to make community interests of greater importance than any demands of individuality; all three institutions are of an authoritarian nature.
Skill Objectives:	Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - to make an hypothesis about the value system underlying the institutional structure of Imperial Russia.

Materials: Reading LV, "The Roots of Totalitarianism - Imperial Russia"

GROUP WORK: A meeting of the village commune Assembly.	In this exercise the teacher is to act as a Westerner, Mackenzie Wallace perhaps, and the students are members of a village commune at an Assembly meeting. Wallace is attending the meeting to find out about the social and economic structure of the Commune. The teacher might call students by Russian names - Ivan, Alexy, Grushenka, Natasha, etc. - to lend some reality to the situation. Use the analytic questions found in the lesson plans for Readings 16 and 17 as the basis for discussion, but disguise them. For example: instead of asking "what goods and services shall be produced," start by saying, "what kind of work do you do?" and develop a line of questioning from there. Once the meeting is over, and it should last for about twenty minutes, the villagers should have told you, in effect, that they are not masters of their own destiny. Both the rigidly undemocratic family organization and the obligatory nature of the commune make it impossible for the peasant to act in his own self-interest. There is always some higher authority who must be obeyed.
Is there any similarity between the organization of the Imperial Government and the social and economic structure of the Commune?	Yes. There is a huge bureaucracy and a tremendous amount of red tape involved in governmental decision making. This produces, again, the phenomenon of group responsibility or better yet the individual's responsibility to higher authorities rather than to himself.
Can you make an hypothesis about the value system in Imperial Russia?	By this time the students should be aware of the precedence taken by community interest and authoritarian control as opposed to the Western ideals of individualism and democratic decisions. If time permits, the teacher might ask whether or not it is odd that Communism has taken hold so thoroughly in the Soviet Union.

THE ROOTS OF TOTALITARIANISM - COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

Subject Objectives:

To know that the Communist Party established another authoritarian state for a new purpose, that of organizing a classless society in which the means of production would be publicly, not privately, owned.

To know that the long-range goal of the Communist State has been the eventual elimination of formal government, but that the methods of achieving this goal have changed over time.

Skill Objectives:

Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the constants and variables of Communist ideology
Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship between the goals and methods of the Communists and those of the Tsarist regime.

Materials: Reading LVI, "The Roots of Totalitarianism - Communist Ideology"

GROUP WORK: How does each writer define the Communist state?

Divide the class into four groups and allow about five minutes for discussion. Then have reports to the whole group on how each writer defines the Communist state. The teacher might put the definitions on the chalkboard.
Marx and Engels: The state is the proletariat organized as the ruling class for the purpose of centralizing "all instruments of production in the hands of the state" and eliminating all class lines and antagonisms.
Lenin: The State is a vanguard of the proletariat organized to suppress the bourgeois capitalists so that class lines disappear and real freedom and democracy can be enjoyed. Resistance must be crushed with force.
Trotsky and Stalin: The state is the dictatorship of the Party guiding the proletariat in its job of crushing the capitalists. Terror is the necessary weapon for this task since, as in war, loss of a few lives is requisite to the end of convincing thousands of the truth. Furthermore, those who die are insignificant because they are capitalists.
Krushchev: The state is a nation-wide organization of the working people expressing the people's interests and will and called a socialist democracy. All citizens must contribute to the work of the state and the centralized leadership maintains tight control. This arrangement will permit the withering away of the state.

How do the writers differ and what do they have in common?

Each of the writers wishes to see class lines erased and the bourgeois capitalists eliminated as an instrumental segment of society. There is a progression, however, from Marx through

	Krushchev with regard to the way this should be accomplished. Each writer becomes more specific about how the state shall be organized to achieve true communism. In all cases a strengthened state seems to be necessary before the state can wither away.
Is the Communist state different from the Tsarist state?	In its goals yes, in its mode of operation, no. The Communist state is also highly bureaucratic, organized around a small participating elite, and unwilling to permit much individuality. Its familiar authoritarian nature has, perhaps, contributed to its success in gaining public acceptance for a radically new program.

Shaping of Western Society — Lesson Plan, Reading 57

THE WORLD OF THE SOVIET CITIZEN

Subject Objectives:

To know:

that the Soviet citizen, in large measure, finds that the Communist regime has improved his standard of living and thus he is favorable disposed toward his government.

that the Communist regime is built on and owes some of its success to customs and mores that belonged to Russians of the Tsarist era.

Skill Objectives:

Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to make a hypothesis about the reasons for Communism's success in the Soviet Union.

Materials: Reading LVII, "The World of the Soviet Citizen"

Have the Communists achieved their goals of public ownership and classlessness?	It seems that collectivization is occurring with great success in industry but that agriculture is losing ground. Students should attempt to explain why this is the case. Is there any reason that private ownership should be more important to the peasant than to the businessman? Social welfare legislation, urbanization, and industrialization have contributed to eliminating extreme differences in wealth and social position.
FREE DISCUSSION: Is the Soviet man likely to revolt against his government?	It would not seem so. For most people, the conditions of living have improved so tremendously, revolt would not be worthwhile. Furthermore, the citizen is proud of the progress his government has made. Revolt may well be unthinkable too. Memories of terror might linger, and the traditional willingness to accept authority does not seem to foster a revolutionary spirit. Government supervision of even minor daily and personal decisions makes revolt even less feasible. There is a total security that is not worth risking particularly when the security of communal rather than individual decision-making has been traditional to a people.
WRITING EXERCISE: Why has the Communist regime been so successful?	Have each student write a hypothesis answering this question. A sample might be: " The Communist Party in the USSR has ruthlessly modernized and improved economic conditions using a foundation of traditional values on which to base its organization and methods. As a result it has brought about progress and been accepted by the citizenry." Is there any similarity between the Communist technique and that of Caesar Augustus?

SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY Objective Exam VII

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last twenty minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example: Question Sheet Answer Sheet

1. Chicago is a
A. state. C. country.
B. city. D. continent.

1. A X C D

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three.

Questions 1 and 2 refer to the statements below about Communist philosophy.

I. Proletarian domination to eliminate bourgeois classes.
II. Public ownership to eliminate private wealth for the few.
III. Organized terror to eliminate citizen opposition.
IV. Strong centralized leadership to eventually eliminate the state.

1. With which of the statements above would Khrushchev disagree?
A. I B. II [✓ C.] III D. IV

2. With which of the statements above would Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin agree?
A. I and II [✓ C.] II, III, IV and I
B. IV, II, and III D. I, III, and IV

Question 3 refers to the following events.

I. Germany invades Belgium.
II. Austria declares war on Serbia.
III. Russia mobilizes her army.
IV. Germany gives blanket support to Austria.
V. England declares war on Germany.

3. What is the correct order in which the above events occurred?
A. II, III, IV, I, V C. III, II, I, IV, V
[✓ B.] IV, III, II, I, V D. II, V, I, III, IV

4. Why has Russian economic growth taken place with such speed?
A. Because the government has concentrated on consumer production.
B. Because the market theory has been used.
C. Because private ownership has been developed.
[✓ D.] Because western technology has been borrowed.

Questions 5 through 8 refer to the following people.

I. Woodrow Wilson of the United States.
II. Georges Clemenceau of France.
III. David Lloyd George of Great Britain.
IV. Count Brockdorf-Rantzau of Germany.

5. Which of the men mentioned above would have said, "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."?
[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

6. Which of the men mentioned above would have said, "The demand is made that we shall acknowledge that we alone are guilty of having caused the war. Such a confession in my mouth would be a lie."?
A. I B. II C. III [✓ D. IV]

7. Which of the men mentioned above would have said, "Here we have a condition of inequality in that the nations which were not invaded will obtain the greatest guarantees of security while those who have suffered invasion will obtain the least guarantees."?
A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

8. Which of the men mentioned above would have said, "A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality."?
[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

9. All of the following are reasons for Communism's success in establishing itself in Russia EXCEPT:
[✓ A. Russians had been raised to question the present and look for improvements in the future.]
B. Russia's historic mission to the world would be fulfilled in Communism.
C. Russian society was traditionally oriented toward group concerns.
D. Russians were accustomed to accepting commands obediently.

10. All of the following are reasons for the failure of the League of Nations EXCEPT:
[✓ A. The leading nations did not belong, so the organization lacked prestige.]
B. The League did not have enough money to carry on effective peace-keeping operations.
C. The League was created under the auspices of the Versailles Treaty.
D. The member nations were unwilling to abandon their special interests to the community welfare.

11. All of the following describe war in the 20th century EXCEPT:
A. War involves the entire population of the country.
B. War is fought with patriotic goals in mind.
[✓ C. Wars are generally short.]
D. War requires an advanced and sophisticated technology.

Questions 12 through 16 refer to the following statements:

I. Sentence #2 provides substantial evidence to confirm the accuracy of sentence #1.
II. Sentence #2 tends to confirm the accuracy of sentence #1, but more evidence is needed.
III. Sentence #2 provides substantial evidence that sentence #1 is inaccurate.
IV. Sentence #2 neither proves nor disproves sentence #1. The sentences are unrelated.

12. Which of the statements above best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?
#1 - "The Soviet citizen lives in constant fear."
#2 - "The Moscow police force numbers 4,000 men."
A. I B. II C. III [✓ D. IV]

13. Which of the statements above best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?
#1 - "Modern war is democratic."
#2 - "Modern armies are made up of millions of ordinary citizens, not just professional soldiers."
A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

14. Which of the statements above best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?
#1 - "The leaders of the Soviet Union are driven by their zeal to put the ideals of communism into practice."
#2 - "A recent policy statement made by the Soviet Central Committee states that some workers will be given higher wages if they surpass their production goals for this year."
A. I B. II [✓ C. III] D. IV

15. Which of the statements above accurately describes the relationship between the following two sentences?
#1 - "The members of the Narodna Odbrana, who assassinated the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, were motivated by nationalistic feeling."
#2 - "The members of the Narodna Odbrana swore to the oath that they would not rest until Austria no longer dominated their Serbian brothers."
[✓ A. I] B. II C. III D. IV

16. Which of the statements above best describes the relationship between the following two sentences:
#1 - "Germany went to war in 1914 to honor its alliances."
#2 - "In 1892 Germany had joined Austria in an alliance which stated that Germany would come to Austria's support if invaded by Russia."
A. I [✓ B. II] C. III D. IV

17. All of the following facts could be used to support the following generalization: "Nationalist motives caused much of the tension in Europe prior to World War I," EXCEPT:
   A. The Serbian press constantly agitated for a greater Serbia which would include the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
   B. German writers called for German domination of western and central Europe.
   [✓ C.] The Kaiser called for free trade in Morocco.
   D. Russian writers agitated for the unification of all Slavic peoples into one nation.

18. All of the following are explanations for the fact that Russians have not revolted against Communism EXCEPT:
   [✓ A.] Collective responsibility has alienated the freedom-loving Russian.
   B. Government supervision is so close as to make revolution almost impossible.
   C. Most Russians do not wish to risk losing the improvement in living standards.
   D. The Soviet man is proud of the accomplishments his government has achieved.

19. All of the following are incorporated in the Versailles Treaty EXCEPT:
   A. Parts of Germany must be occupied to prevent future aggression.
   B. Germany must give up all of her overseas territories.
   [✓ C.] Germany must participate in the League to promote peace.
   D. Germany must repay the Allies for all the losses she caused them.

20. The Versailles Treaty was written as a peace of vengeance rather than as one of justice for all the following reasons EXCEPT:
   A. The Allies wanted to make up for the losses incurred by the war as much as possible.
   [✓ B.] The Germans realized their mistake and wanted to repent in this way.
   C. The rest of Europe was afraid of permitting any German strength to be maintained.
   D. Wilson was more idealistic than European leaders because his country had not been invaded.

21. The political philosophy of the Russian Tsars was most similar to that of:
   [✓ A.] Bossuet   B. Locke   C. Pericles   D. Wilson

22. A Tsarist Russian commune would have been most similar to:
   A. the Greek acropolis.   C. Renaissance Florence.
   [✓ B.] the medieval manor.   D. a Roman province.

23. All of the following statements are true of both the Tsarist and Communist regimes EXCEPT:
   A. Both are authoritarian in nature.
   [✓ B.] Both are dedicated to eliminating capitalism.
   C. Both are highly bureaucratic and involve much red tape.
   D. Both are organized around a small participating elite.

24. Which of the following ideas would most accurately reflect the Tsarist Russian's outlook on life?
    A. Don't worry about tomorrow, it will take care of itself.
    *B. Do what you're told without asking questions and you won't get in trouble.
    C. If I get rich it's a sign that I am guaranteed spiritual salvation.
    D. I must take care of myself because no one is going to do it for me.

25. All of the following statements are evidence that modern Russia is a totalitarian state, EXCEPT:
    *A. All Russians have the right to vote.
    B. No party but the Communist Party may exist in the Soviet Union.
    C. The major economic decisions are made by a small elite.
    D. Plays, books, and music must be approved by the Party before publication or performance.

Shaping of Western Society — Lesson Plan, Reading 58

TOTALITARIANISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

Subject Objectives: To know: that Russian economic growth has been accomplished with speed because the Party has borrowed Western technology and used a centralized decision-making apparatus.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the factors involved in the growth of the Soviet economy.

Materials: Reading LIV, "Totalitarianism in the Soviet Union"
Walbank Transparency Series, "Russian Economic Growth"

ADMINISTER TWENTY MINUTE OBJECTIVE EXAM

TRANSPARENCIES:
How has economic growth been achieved in the Soviet Union?

* From Georgia Schneider and Edwin Fenton, "Russian Economic Growth," in The Fenton-Wallbank World History Program for the Overhead Projector, (Williamette, Illinois, Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc.: 1965).

This transparency set compares Russian economic growth with that of the United States.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE AND THE NAZIS

Subject Objectives:	To know: that many Germans supported Hitler's National Socialist Party out of dissatisfaction with existing conditions and because it provided a program for actively dealing with these problems.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship between the discontent in Germany and the success of Hitler's party in rising to power.

Materials: Reading LIX, "The German People and the Nazis

DISCOVERY EXERCISE:

Which of the three parties would the person in your case study support and why?	Assign each student to read one of the case studies and to be able to support his reasoning. After about five minutes, begin discussing the cases allowing students to comment on each other's analysis. Make sure that reasoning is based either on conditions in Germany or party platforms.
What political philosophy is the foundation for each of the three parties and why?	This question gets at the difference between the three parties. A, Communist; B, Democratic; C, Absolutist (in terms of what the class had studied thus far), actually Nazi.
Why did Nazism become so powerful in Germany?	Sample hypothesis: Nazism became a potent force of German nationalism for many reasons. Fear of Communism, unstable currency, loss of national prestige, and an ineffective republic are primary causes for the widespread acceptance of the Nazi program which promised to alleviate all Germany's ills. Of course, the magnetism of Hitler himself cannot be overlooked.

Shaping of Western Society — Lesson Plan, Reading 60

NAZISM IN THEORY

Subject Objectives:

To know:

that the Nazi state created by Hitler was founded on the principles of racial superiority, national expansion, and totalitarian authority.

that Nazi ideology as expounded by Hitler, Huber and Rosenberg was not entirely alien to the historic German and Western experience.

Skill Objectives:

Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the bases of Nazi theory

Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship between Nazi theory and earlier German historic experience.

Materials: Reading LX, "Nazism in Theory"

WRITING EXERCISE:
What is Nazism?

Direct the class to write a one paragraph definition of Nazism using the readings as sources of information. This exercise should take about ten minutes after which several paragraphs can be read and commented upon. The following ideas should certainly be included in any well balanced definition.

Hitler on Race and Nationality: The state is an area large enough to assure the preservation of a "community of physically and psychically homogeneous creatures." If the state cannot do this, it is useless. In order to adequately preserve this community, the state must have enough land.

Hitler on the Role of the Party: An elite from the National Socialist Party provides leadership for the state. The Party grasped its position because its adherents were racially "the most valuable section of the German nation" and therefore most deserving and capable of guiding the state.

Alfred Rosenberg on Race and Nationality: Nationality has a racial basis; mixing the bloods of various races results in an essentially illegitimate racial group. The rights of nationality must be earned through striving "for complete humanity and achievement in the service of the Volk."

Ernst Huber on the Fuehrer Principle: The Fuehrer is the embodiment of the will of the people, this latter having been somehow mystically revealed to or born in him. His all-inclusive powers are then used to plan all phases of the national life.

Are these theories at all similar to any other political theories we have studied?	Huber's description of the Fuehrer is rather similar to Bossuet's ideas about the absolute monarch, and the collective will he mentions sounds rather like Rousseau's General Will. (See Lesson 39.)
Why do you suppose Nazi theory is so enamoured of racial superiority?	The teacher may have to begin by asking whether there is any reason for Germans not to feel superior or important in order to get started with this question. It should remind students of the Versailles Treaty (see Lesson 51) which humiliated Germans with its clauses depriving them of land and German population. Can Nazi theory be interpreted as an attempt to recoup those losses? Another way to attack the question might be to ask whether or not Germans have always felt superior. This should bring up the study of German nationalism in the 19th century (see Lesson 49.) Humboldt, Bismarck, and Treitschke were also powerfully conscious of their German-ness and felt that a strong German state was essential.
Does Nazism now seem to be as totally non-western as you had originally thought?	In conclusion the students should realize that Nazism does have western roots in nationalism, absolutism, and to some degree natural law. Its subversiveness, therefore, lies more in the practice than in the theory and the extreme racial position is undoubtedly its most invidious aspect. Why is Nazism regarded as so much less tolerable a theory than Communism?

NAZISM IN PRACTICE

Subject Objectives: To know:
that the practice of Nazism was the logical outgrowth of Nazi theory.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship between Nazism in theory and practice.

Materials: Reading LXI, "Nazism in Practice"
Slides: "Nazism: the Splendor and the Horror"

SLIDES: How did Hitler establish the Nazi State?	Show the slides in two groups - first the parade scenes and then the concentration camp shots - asking the question after each group. In the first set, the tremendous militaristic and nationalistic appeal is quite evident; from the second the elimination of the "inferior" race is apparent. This question can also be applied to the reading to indicate the technique of eliminating civil rights.
Considering Nazi theory, would you say that these practices were to be expected?	Yes. Have the students refer to the preceding day's lesson to find correborative theoretical evidence for the material presented in the slides and today's reading. Make sure that the treatment of other nations is included in the discussion.
FREE DISCUSSION: Why was Nazism ever able to develop?	The students may or may not be able to discuss this question adequately. The teacher can introduce any number of questions for consideration: a. multiple causation b. the great man theory c. the character of the German people d. the appeasement of the western democracies

SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY **Reading 61**

"Nazism: The Splendor and the Horror" Slide tape script

① (Hitler's Voice) That was the voice of Adolph Hitler. He was addressing a throng of one million Germans who had come to Nuremburg in 1936 to celebrate the triumph of the Nazi Party. They came to sing the Nazi Anthem, ② (Horst Wessel Song) to watch the Storm Troopers march, ③ to take part in the pageantry, ④ to gape at the spectacle, ⑤ and to pay homage to Hitler. ⑥ This ⑦ was the funny little man who was responsible for the splendor of Nazi Germany -- and for its horror ⑧ ,Buchenwald ⑨, Auschwitz ⑩ , Dachau ⑪ . This was the monument of Adolf Hitler.

Slide-Tape: Nazism: The Splendor and the Horror

1 and 2. Hitler speaking before massed crowds

3. Hitler reviewing a military parade

4 and 5. Flag ceremonies at Nazi rallies

6. Hitler passing in review in parade

7. Hitler marching with German chiefs of staff

8, through 11. Various pictures of German concentration camps taken at the end of the war.

FASCISM: DENIAL OR FULFILLMENT OF WESTERN TRADITIONS?

ADMINISTER FULL PERIOD ESSAY EXAMINATION

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY

Essay Test #6
Units XIV and XV
Lesson 62

Write an essay in which you answer the following question:

"Why are totalitarian governments established?"

In answering this question you should develop a hypothesis that accounts for the various factors that lead to the establishment of totalitarian regimes. Then you should defend your hypothesis with evidence taken from the readings in Units XIV and XV, "The Development of Totalitarianism in Russia" and "Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Reich."

Shaping of Western Society — Lesson Plan, Reading 63

THE IDEA OF EQUALITY IN THE WEST

Subject Objectives:	To know: that religion, natural law, communism, and science provide philosophical justifications for the idea that all men are equal because they share in the human condition.
Skill Objectives:	Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to make a hypothesis about the meaning of equality

Materials: Reading LXIII, "The Idea of Equality in the West"

FREE DISCUSSION:

Do you really consider yourself equal to everyone else?	This discussion may or may not bring out all the information in the reading. Its purpose is to realistically clarify the numerous inequalities that do exist among men. After this, it should be easier to define equality reasonably. The teacher might introduce the phrase "primus inter pares," first among equals, as a means for concluding the discussion.
What do the authors of the readings believe equality means?	Religion: Epictetus, Jesus, and Cicero promote the idea that men are equal because they were all created by God and are distinct from other animals which can neither speak nor reason. Natural Law: Jefferson and members of the French National Assembly think that possession of the rights to life, liberty, happiness, and property is common to all men. Thus men are equal, and the law must maintain that equality. Communism: The free enterprise system creates inequality by allowing the few (bourgeoisie) property owners to "subjugate" the labor of the many (proletariat) propertyless. Communism would create equality by eliminating private ownership; everyone would then be equal out of the necessity of having to labor for a living. Science: The study of racial and ethnic groups indicates that no man is exactly "the same as" another. Between groups of men, however, there are great similarities, especially with reference to intelligence. There is no evidence to prove that any racial group as a whole is any more or less intelligent than another.
Can you make a hypothesis about the meaning of equality?	Direct the class toward consensus on some grounds other than equality in the eyes of the law; this is a student favorite but is not the crux of the issue here. Sample: "Equality among men is an idea based on the fact that we are all involved in and subject to the human condition."

Lesson Plan
Shaping of Western Society Reading 64

NINETEENTH CENTURY CHALLENGES TO THE IDEA OF EQUALITY

Subject Objectives: To know: that nineteenth century political, social, and economic institutions were organized so as to deny equality to many men.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the nineteenth century value system which denied equality to so many.

Materials: Reading LXIV, "Nineteenth Century Challenges to the Idea of Equality"

WRITING EXERCISE: 1. You are a poor but intelligent young Frenchman living in 1835. Write a letter to the editor of your newspaper explaining your dissatisfaction with the newly elected Deputy from your district. 2. You are a successful factory owner living in England in 1835. Write a letter to a friend explaining the secret of your success. 3. You are a young Englishman just out of the university in 1835. Write a letter to a friend explaining why you have chosen to go into government work in the colonies.	Assign each student to one of the three exercises and allow about ten minutes for its completion. Have several students read their letters aloud, permitting other students to criticize and comment on their validity. This exercise should bring out the basic ideas in the reading. Political Institutions: In France only the wealthy could vote. Public officials also had to be rich since they received no salaries. This arrangement means not only corruption in public office but a denial that men are equal. The aristocracy will probably be much more equal than the poor commoner. Economic Institutions: Racial slavery and wage slavery held many men captive. In both cases working hours are long, the pay is poor, the conditions of labor are outrageous, and the factory or plantation owner is much more equal than his workers. Social Structure: In Russia classes do not simply exist as one of the realities of life, they are also recognized by the law. The British imperialist regarded himself as superior to the natives in the colonies who are wild folk and sullen, rather like children in their innocence and like devils in their wickedness.
Why are all men not always treated equally?	The values underlying institutional patterns often deny equality. When the political, economic, and social structure permit one group of people privileges in excess of what the others receive, equality is being denied.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EQUALITY IN GREAT BRITAIN

Subject Objectives:	To know: that in Great Britain political, economic, and social equality has been extended to all people through the passage of national law.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the means and ends of expanding equality.

Materials: Reading LXV, "The Development of Equality in Great Britain"

GROUP WORK:

How did the definition of equality change over the years in Great Britain?	Divide the class into four or five committees and use the chronology as a discovery exercise. After about ten minutes, reporters should be able to inform the class of their committee's work. Students should become aware that equality was gradually extended to more and more people in many areas. Political equality: through expansion of the suffrage so that religion, wealth, and social class were no longer the determinants for participation in government. Economic equality: through elimination of tariffs, and with the advent of minimum wage law, graduated income tax, inheritance tax, etc. there is less possibility for some to be very rich while everyone else has a substandard income. Social equality: the preceding reforms as well as greater educational opportunities operate to cause a more mobile class structure. The chronology also indicates that law becomes increasingly more strong as central government legislates equality for larger and larger numbers of people in widely diversified areas.
What does the case study of the Reform Bill indicate about the ease of passing such legislation?	It is clear that legislating equality is not easy, for some must inevitably lose in order that others gain. It seems, at least in the case of the Reform Bill, that only the threat of a loss greater than that to be imposed by the law will force its passage. Despite widespread popular agitation favoring the measure, only the threat of an enlarged peerage acting against them caused the House of Lords to pass the Reform Bill.
How has the significance of equality changed over the years?	This is a summary question designed to produce an awareness that the idea of equality among men has not changed but rather has been intensified and made conscious. It is no longer an unpracticed ideal; instead equality has been defined as extending into human political, economic, and social conditions. And legislation has been passed to ensure greater equality in all these areas.

EQUALITY IN THE WESTERN TRADITION

Subject Objectives:	To know: that equality and freedom are sometimes inconsisten in the sense that freedom is limited by legal imposition of equality among all men.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship between freedom and equality.

Materials: Reading LXVI, "Equality in the Western Tradition"
Tape: "Value Conflict: Freedom vs Equality"

ADMINISTER TWENTY MINUTE OBJECTIVE EXAM

PLAY TAPE: With which of these two men do you agree? Why?	This will undoubtedly be a discussion of values so its outcome is unpredictable. The teacher, however, should work toward the idea that freedom and equality often come into conflict with each other. Since we hold both values we must make a choice about which value we wish to promote over the other when the two come into conflict in situations such as the one described on the tape.

Tape Script: "MR. MUCHCASH'S WILL"

NARRATOR: This little playlet demonstrates one of the fundamental dilemmas in modern democracy. The conversation you are about to hear takes place between the wealthy and aging oil baron, Mr. Muchcash and his attorney, Mr. Beemer. Mr. Muchcash is getting along in years and is interested in using his great fortune to provide a memorial to himself. Being philanthropic of mind, and wanting to be remembered as having done great service for his fellow man, Mr. Muchcash has decided to endow a college which will bear his name. His is to be a college with a difference, however. It is to take only young men who come from poor homes. Mr. Muchcash wants to provide a college education for those who cannot afford it. He has instructed Mr. Beemer, the attorney, to draw up the will specifiying the details. Mr. Beemer has returned the rough draft and all is in order, with the exception of one missing clause which Mr. Muchcash insisted be placed in the will. As the conversation opens, Mr. Muchcash is heatedly pointing out this omission to his beleagured lawyer.

MUCHCASH: Mr. Beemer, what in the living blazes do you think you are doing? When I say I want a clause in there, I mean to see it there in the first draft! After all, it's my money I'm giving away, not yours.

BEEMER: But Mr. Muchcash, sir, putting that clause in your will is illegal.

MUCHCASH: Illegal? Do you mean it is illegal for a man to decide how his money is to be spent and on whom?

BEEMER: In some cases, yes. For instance it is illegal for you to spend your money on narcotics.

MUCHCASH: But Beemer, I am not spending my money on narcotics, I am endowing a college, and I mean to have my college be set up the way I want it to be. And I'll tell you right now, I don't intend to have Negroes attending my college. I want that clause in my will for just that purpose - to keep the Negroes out. Beemer, if you know what is good for you, you will insert a clause that says if any Negro is admitted to Muchcash College the endowment funds will be turned over to the care and feeding of my prize peacocks.

BEEMER: But sir, the Supreme Court has ruled and there are now many laws that state that you cannot deny Negroes equal rights and equal opportunity. If you put that clause in the will, you will be denying those rights, and the courts of this land can overrule not only that clause, but the entire will. Then your money won't go either to Muchcash College or to your prize peacocks but will be given to some agency the Court thinks deserves it--like the U.S. government.

MUCHCASH: Do you mean the law says I do not have the freedom to leave my money to what or whom I want to? Isn't this a free country where a man is supposed to have the liberty to dispose of his wealth the way he wants to, so long as it doesn't corrupt the morals of Americans or encourage crime or otherwise upset the peace?

BEEMER: All I know, sir, is that you cannot deny the Negro his rights.

MUCHCASH: But what about my rights? Don't I have some, too? Don't I have the freedom of choice?

BEEMER: Look, sir, I believe in freedom as much as you do. But you don't have the freedom to deny equality. You have the freedom to endow a college or give your money to peacocks, and I think you should have that freedom (though I can't think for the life of me why you would want to give your money to some birds. What can peacocks do with fifteen million dollars?).

MUCHCASH: Never mind the peacocks! I want the freedom to use my money or leave my money to whomever or whatever I please! I want my money to be used the way I want it to be used. After all, I made it!

BEEMER: But Mr. Muchcash, you have to remember that others have rights, too. You've got to remember that this country stands for equality as well as freedom. If you ask me, you should want to promote equality by opening your college to all poor young men, black or white.

MUCHCASH: Beemer, I believe in equality as much as the next man! For heaven's sake, the very idea behind this college is to promote equality. I want to give the chance to go to college to young men who have been denied that opportunity because they are too poor. My lord, if that isn't trying to promote equality, then what is?

BEEMER: Taking that clause out of your will stating that Negroes cannot attend Muchcash College.

MUCHCASH: Beemer! Can't you understand what I'm driving at? I want my money to be used the way I want it used. I want the freedom to dispose of the fortune that I worked long and hard to get the way I see fit. If you can't draw up a will that will see that I get what I want, then I'll find an attorney who will!

BEEMER: Okay, Mr. Muchcash, if that's the way you want it I guess I'll just have to resign before you fire me. . . . (fade Beemer's voice)

NARRATOR: So ends our little play. Mr. Muchcash and his attorney seem to be caught on the horns of a dilemma that they cannot resolve. Why did this dilemma arise? What is the nature of the conflict between Mr. Muchcash and Mr. Beemer? Do they both hold the same values? Is one of the two men wrong? Is there any solution to this problem?

SHAPING OF WESTERN SOCIETY Objective Examination VIII

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last fifteen minutes. It consists of fifteen questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example: Question Sheet Answer Sheet
1. Chicago is a
A. state. C. country. 1. A X C D
B. city. D. continent.

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three.

1. All of the following are ways in which equality was denied during the 19th century EXCEPT:
   A. Europeans regarded natives in their colonies as inferiors.
   B. Racial and wage slavery created wide social and economic gaps.
   [✓ C.] Suffrage was given only to the titled nobility in England and France.
   D. Wealth carried political privileges.

2. All of the following are means for creating greater equality EXCEPT:
   A. extension of the suffrage. C. minimum wage laws.
   B. increased educational opportunity. [✓ D.] outlawing school Bible reading.

3. All of the following factors are common to both Nazism and Communism EXCEPT:
   A. The individual exists for the welfare of the state.
   [✓ B.] The means of production are publicly owned.
   C. All methods are used to gain control of the government.
   D. Police state methods may be used to maintain control.

4. The Nuremberg Decrees were laws issued by the Nazi Party to:
   A. annex Austria.
   B. eliminate the provisions of the Versailles Treaty.
   [✓ C.] limit the civil rights of Jews.
   D. outlaw the Communist Party in Germany.

5. All of the following are explanations of the techniques Hitler used to gain power EXCEPT:
   A. He used the existing democratic structure and procedures.
   B. He used the backing of the Storm Troopers.
   C. He was invited by the President to form a coalition government.
   [✓ D.] He appealed for the support of the Communists.

6. All of the following are explanations for the rise of Nazism in Germany EXCEPT:
   [✓ A.] Failure of the League of Nations C. Treaty of Versailles
   B. Ineffective Weimar Republic D. Unstable German currency

7. Why can Nazism be said to have roots in western tradition?
[✓ A.] It was based on the democratic ideals of Greece.
B. It was based on the humanistic ideals of the Renaissance.
C. It was based on the nationalistic ideals of the West.
D. It was based on the socialist ideals of Marx.

Questions 8 through 11 refer to the following men:

I. Thomas Jefferson
II. Ashley Montague
III. Jesus Christ
IV. Cicero

8. Which of the men mentioned above defined equality as being equal in the sight of God?
A. I B. II [✓ C.] III D. IV

9. Which of the men mentioned above used scientific evidence to justify equality?
A. I [✓ B.] II C. III D. IV

10. Which of the men mentioned above stated that men may be different from each other but that this difference is as nothing compared to the differences between men and animals?
A. I B. II C. III [✓ D.] IV

11. Which of the men mentioned above justified equality on the basis of natural law?
[✓ A.] I B. II C. III D. IV

Questions 12 through 15 refer to the following quotations:

I. "Though there are many differences among men - hair color, eye color, yes, even intelligence - these differences are not so large as to separate men into different communities."

II. "I should not like the accident of birth to be the determining factor in a man's life. What he will become should not depend upon who his parents are."

III. "The Aryans are a superior race. To them we owe the progress of civilization."

IV. "As a member of one of France's oldest noble families, I resent the attempt of the commons to force taxes upon me."

V. "This new income tax law will tax those who make $5,000 per year at 15% and those who make $50,000 per year at 35%."

12. Which of the quotations above indicate that the writer does not favor equality?
    A. I and III only
    B. II and III only
    *C. III and IV only
    D. III and V only

13. Which of the quotations above indicates that the writer favors equality?
    A. I only
    B. I and III only
    *C. I, II, and V
    D. II, III, and V only

14. Writer number IV probably would favor
    *A. a society in which status is ascribed according to birth.
    B. a society in which status is earned according to merit.
    C. a society in which no status is recognized.
    D. a society in which status is given to the strongest members.

15. Writer number II probably would favor
    A. a society which would distribute wealth equally among its members.
    *B. a society which gives men an equal chance to accumulate wealth.
    C. a society which gives the sons of rich men the most wealth.
    D. a society which gives the sons of poor men the most wealth.

THE DIFFUSION OF THE WEST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Subject Objectives:	To know: that during the nineteenth century non-western peoples came into contact with European missionaries and colonialists who managed to superimpose their values on native cultures. that changes promoted anxiety but were readily accepted when there was no alternative to doing so.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the conditions surrounding changes introduced into non-western values during the nineteenth century. Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to analyze the relationship between methods of introducing change and the readiness with which change is accepted.

Materials: Reading LXVII, "The Diffusion of the West in the Nineteenth Century"
Handout: Chart, "Analysis of Factors Influencing Diffusion of the West"

GROUP WORK: What were the changes and conditions surrounding change faced by non-western societies in the nineteenth century?	Divide the class into three groups and direct each to fill in one section of the chart handout - Baba, Prince Modupe, or the Chinese student. Allow five to ten minutes and then call the class back together to fill in a complete model either on the chalkboard or the overhead projector.
Is there any similarity in the kind of change each non-westerner was exposed to?	Yes. Each is faced with a new set of distinctively western values that undermines traditional beliefs and institutions.
Can you make a hypothesis as to the conditions under which change is accepted?	Sample: "The non-western man accepted western changes introduced into his own environment often because he had no alternative. Given a western environment, however, and knowledge of a variety of alternatives all having good and bad sides, it was more difficult to accept new values."

Shaping of Western Society **HANDOUT** **Reading 67**

ANALYSIS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING DIFFUSION OF THE WEST

	BABA	PRINCE MODUPE	CHINESE STUDENT
Location			
Change			
Method of Introduction			
Attitude			
Alternative to Acceptance			

ANALYSIS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING DIFFUSION OF THE WEST

	BABA	PRINCE MODUPE	CHINESE STUDEN
Location	In Africa, in the native village	In Africa, in the native village	In a Western University, possibly British
Change	The elimination of slavery. All men called brothers, i.e. greater equality. Everyone has to do his own work.	The rejection of tribal superstition in favor of Christianity.	Recognition of several ways of doing things in this case differing types of government and economic policy. Recognition of the difference between theory and practice.
Method of Introduction	Natives were paid in food and goods when they worked for Europeans. Judges could punish those who did not discontinue slavery.	Missionaries used mirrors to frighten the natives and whiskey to get them drunk.	A liberal education.
Attitude	Apparently good. There was little trouble, perhaps because wages for labor were equitable and punishment undesirable.	Leaders convinced that they were not strong enough to resist powerful white magic. Recognition that European, though rude, regards himself as superior.	Confusion. Doubt has been cast on what was once held to be beyond questioning.
Alternative to acceptance	None.	None. Drunkenness and loss of blood are too convincing.	Many: acceptance, rejection, modification, etc. Reason will have to determine how new ideas can be assimilated with old values.

THE VALUES OF NON-WESTERN LEADERS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Subject Objectives:	To know: that non-western leaders have been influenced by and accept some Western values but reject those which have been most constraining to their own peoples.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze assumptions underlying non-western acceptance or rejection of western values.

Materials: Reading LXVIII, "The Values of Non-Western Leaders in the Twentieth Century"

WRITING EXERCISE: You are either Nehru, Sun-Yat-Sen, or Mboya. When faced by this question from newspapermen, what response would you make? To Nehru; Since you despise the West, why are you so favorable disposed toward socialism? To Sun-Yat-Sen: Do you want to model your country along western lines? To Mboya: How sympathetic are you to Communist type government?	Assign students to be one of the leaders and allow them five to ten minutes for writing their answers. Then have answers read aloud so others can comment.
Do the leaders reject western values?	Not entirely. Their reactions are a curious mixture of acceptance and rejection. Below are summary remarks about each leader, some of which may have been brought out in the writing, others which will unfold now. Nehru: Nehru rejects capitalism or the free enterprise system which has permitted British imperialists to use Indian resources and labor for British gain. He accepts socialism, however, which is a western idea motivated by the western ideal of equality. Sun-Yat-Sen:. Dr. Sun rejects western civilization in general and western political philosophy specifically as being far inferior to Chinese institutions. But he wishes to acquire western scientific and technological skills in order to achieve a very western goal, that of material wealth.

	Tom Mboya: Mboya rejects the hypocritical brand of democracy practiced by the West in Africa; he recognizes freedom and colonial domination as inherently contradictory. The African state he envisions, however, is founded on western beliefs in independence, individuality, mutual respect, etc.
Why do these leaders seem to accept the West on one hand and reject it on the other?	This question gets at the frame of reference of each leader. All have been influenced by the West in their educations. Thus none are able to reject the West entirely. They accept much and reject what is inconsistent with their own culture or what has had the most constraining influence on their own peoples. It may be necessary here for the teacher to provide some additional historic information. For example, the inequities suffered by the Chinese at the hands of the British or the disruption to Indian crafts and villages by British industry and land policy.

Shaping of Western Society　　　　Lesson Plan, Reading 69

A TURKISH VILLAGE: A CASE STUDY IN DIFFUSION

Subject Objectives:	To know: that the transformation of Balgat was accomplished by political leaders who diffused western technology to the village. that the villagers became materialistic and rejected none of the ideals accompanying the new emphasis on cash.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to recognize the relationship between the introduction of western technology and the acceptance of western values.

Materials: Reading LXIX, "A Turkish Village: A Case Study in Diffusion"

ROLE PLAYING: A Coffee-house discussion of the changes that have taken place in Balgat.	For this discussion, the teacher should be Daniel Lerner asking the villagers how their daily lives and attitudes have changed since 1950. (Lesson 60 was conducted in much the same way and the same kinds of techniques should be used.)
From this discussion how would you describe and analyze the changes in Balgat as: a) a political scientist? b) an economist? c) a sociologist?	Get the students to use the analytical questions of each discipline. It should be apparent that Balgat has lost its traditionalism in that: the government has been broadened to include political parties in addition to the chief who is no longer of much significance particularly as an opinion leader; the economy has been industrialized so that land is no longer the basis for wealth; prestige is influenced by material possession rather than birth.
Why did the villagers change so radically?	This question probably gets at the real clue to the significance of diffusion. The class should readily agree that materialism which is the result of an improved technology is the basic reason for the quick and in this case all-inclusive change. Is there any reason to believe that an improvement in economic standards will always or often be accompanied by a change in other values?